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THE NEWER WAYS OF HISTORIANS[1]

THOMAS Burke in his charming story of childhood, " The Wind and the Rain ", says that now and then he had a revelation. He would soon realize, however, that this new flash of insight was after all nothing more than what he had known all along—no more, indeed, than every one had always known. This curious experience comes to all thoughtful persons. As life goes on they find themselves repeating their old discoveries with an air of novelty, easily discredited by the records.

Nineteen years ago I talked to our Historical Association about " The Allies of History ". When I looked up the forgotten address I found in it a number of reflections which I seem to have expressed quite as clearly and confidently as I could do now. As I remember, the paper was received somewhat blankly, with a touch perhaps of hostility. Tonight I only fear that what I have to say will appear to you all too commonplace since the temper of thought has undergone a mighty change in the last twenty years. Many a novelty has in that interval flattened into a platitude.

At the opening of the present century, when the older of us were getting under way, we enjoyed a certain sense of superiority in our emulations, and looked down with some condescension upon our predecessors. We had made a very essential discovery, the distinction between the primary and secondary sources of historical knowledge. We inhaled the delicious odor of first hand accounts, of the " original document ", of the " official report ". We had at last got to the bottom of things. Earlier writers had of course used primary sources, but in a reckless and irreverent manner as it seemed to our heightened sense of criticism. We got out " source books " to bring the glad tidings to the colleges and even the schools. He who could, read Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode*. Potthast's " saure Arbeit ", as he calls it, Giry and Dahlmann-Waitz were cherished by those who began to tackle the Middle Ages, previously so inadequately understood.

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[1] Presidential Address delivered before the American Historical Association at Durham, December 30, 1929.

Institutions appealed to us as particularly important. The Church began to receive its due, as well as Feudalism, the guilds, petty and grand juries, parliaments and estates general. Bishop Stubbs established ideal standards for this type of investigation. But his work was not so jolly as Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's *History of the Criminal Law of England,* which, " though not free from inequalities and traces of haste "—not so inappropriate after all to his theme—seemed to bring us nearer the great heart of the people than Stubbs. I am reminded for some reason at this point of the lines of Sir William Gilbert in his " Bab Ballads ":

For only scoundrels dare to do
What we consider just and true;
And only good men do in fact
What we should think a dirty act.

I am inclined to guess that " institutions ", as formerly conceived, are no longer deemed so important as in the old days, and that formal and official documents seem less authentic and fundamental than once they did. I shall revert to this question later.

Our rather solemn estimate of the orderly proceedings of mankind as recorded in documents was reënforced by our fear of what George Burton Adams called " a new flaming up of interest in the philosophy of history ". The same writer was also solicitous that history should retain its integrity since it was threatened with assaults from stealthy, youthful social sciences seeking what they might purloin in order to increase their weight—for some of them were a bit spindling as yet. This fear has I trust vanished. In the great and glorious game of stalking the truth there are many methods of approach. The old jealous attempt to delimit the departments of man's knowledge and surround each " field " with barbed wire is passing away. History seems to more and more of us a method of learning about men and women. It is but an example of the genetic approach which is so widely appreciated and usefully applied whether one be engaged on a nebula, a flat worm, or the League of Nations.

As we look back thirty years we find historians perhaps rather pedantic and defensive. They are humble enough now. They do not aspire to a noble isolation but seek help from quarters undreamed of when I began to teach. We readily admit that anyone may view historically anything he wishes and we bless him for his wisdom if he does so. We escape the possibility of attacks by merely leveling our circumvallations and permitting those who will to wander freely about our realm and help themselves—we wonder, indeed, if we have, or ever have had, any legitimate sovereign rights to defend. Whether history is an art or science troubles us as little as whether glorified spirits are in the empyrean rather than the aqueous heaven—once a matter of debate in the University of Paris.

There were at the opening of our century four chief kinds of history: Ancient, European (Medieval and Modern), English and American. It was on this basis that professorships were assigned, manuals were written, and history was taught in the schools and colleges. Committees appointed to consider plans for historical instruction were scornful of so-called "general" or "world" history. They assumed that a simple outline of the career of man, studied for only a year or two, would produce no good results. They were of course wrong, for excellent manuals of general history have since been written; and it has proved possible, by leaving out a good many facts that were once deemed essential, to make the narrative quite as lively and interesting as that of any of the four received divisions of the past.

National history seems to us more provincial than formerly it did. We now know so much more of the origin and dissemination of civilization, that it becomes quite literally "the common adventure of mankind", as Wells calls it. Fichte could, after the battle of Jena, assure the Germans that they were an original people with an original language—such was the state of ignorance in his time. Sixty years later Freeman could exhort the history teachers of Liverpool to impress on the minds of their pupils that they were Mercians—to him a mighty tribe. But it has been the habit of man to wander on a large scale; he is a migratory animal. No nation starts afresh. The term autochthonous (sprung-from-the-earthers) or aboriginal (on-the-spot-from-the-firsters) can not be properly applied to any people of which we have any record. Each people at every stage of its civilization owes most of its knowledge, skill, art and *mores* to other peoples including those of a very remote past. So national history merges into general history. And without some vivid conception of the whole sweep of civilization national history is likely to be very badly interpreted. The whole setting of the history of western European countries is being transformed by a reconsideration of its background and by a realization of its strange outcome as we see it today.

The classicists, to whom Greek and Roman history was turned over on account of its peculiar difficulties, have been forced by archeological discoveries greatly to reduce their estimate of Greek originality. It is now clear that the barbarous Greek tribes migrated into a region where a high civilization already existed; upon this, after much destructive marauding, they reared a new and finer one. The story of human achievement which lies behind the days of Greek greatness is recognized by the editors of the *Cambridge Ancient History* who assign to it about a third of their massive treatise. Just as the estimate of the uniqueness and freshness of Greek culture has been lessened by the vast backward extension of history, so has our conception of the Hebrew religion and even of Christianity. As knowledge of their origins grows, they cease to seem so isolated, distinctive and miraculous in their beginnings, spread and permanent influence as they did fifty years ago.

What was not long ago called prehistory has become honest-to-God history, for few question now that implements, pottery, decoration, ornaments and curiously arranged stones are quite as authentic sources of knowledge as inscriptions. They are indeed more fundamental than writing. Such evidences of man's remote past are being increased at an astonishing rate, and we have no reason to think that archeology has made more than a beginning. Conditions for its rapid advance become, as my predecessor Professor Breasted eagerly told you last year, more and more favorable and its revelations more surprising.

A new prehistory is passing into the place of the old. " Civilization " is taking on a new meaning from that it had for older writers. It is what Graham Wallas calls our " social heritage ", as distinguished from our animal heritage. Since our animal equipment and tendencies deeply influence our civilization, which of course depends upon them, it becomes a matter of deep historical significance to compare our physical outfit and conduct with that of our nearest relatives who have not, for various reasons we now understand pretty well, ever achieved any civilization. Just as years ago I recommended that the old prehistory be recognized as essential to grasping history as then delimited, so I now recommend that the work of Köhler, Pavlov, Yerxes and many other animal psychologists be frankly recognized as essential contributions to the historian's problems.

The discoveries in animal psychology are by no means irrelevant to man's conduct in all times. They may well influence one's reflections whether he read the New Testament or the morning *Times*. The history of what is deemed the highest human thought constantly suggests primitive impulses and conditioned reactions. When Tylor pointed out that superstitions were but metamorphosed hold-overs of former habits of thought and action, and urged that we should speak of historical survivals, not superstitions, he vastly improved our way of talking of both the past and the present. It is this almost inexorable persistence in all human affairs of ancient and primitive factors that keeps pushing the historical student further and further back; for he knows that his explanations of things as he finds them are remote, and can not be derived from even the most scrupulous inspection of current conditions and events.

In spite of this retrospective drive, there has never been anything like the demand for up-to-date history. A quarter of a century ago the writer of an historical manual was not expected to say much of his own time. Indeed he could allow his tale to peter out somewhere in the 'seventies. The past seemed one thing, the present another. We were supposed to know about the present and needed only to be told about what happened before we were born. There was little inclination to bring the two sets of information together. After the War, as textbook writers know, a general demand was made that all accounts of recent times should be posted like a ledger. In 1929 a copyright obtained in 1925 suggests an antiquated work. Authors must seem to be only a few months in arrears.

Scarcely any change in education can be ranked with this in importance. If the writer has from the beginning of his book been under the anticipated obligation of framing a coherent narrative making close connections with the morning newspaper the day that he releases his plate proof, he will almost inevitably find himself reselecting his material with a view of this dénouement. Should we succeed in encouraging a thoroughgoing historical sense in writers and transmitting it to students we should have done something new and fine. For there is no branch of knowledge now that does not rely upon the genetic method of discovery and explanation. Surely the present condition of mankind should be no exception, but rather the most striking example. So much of the discussion of obsessive problems in the ordering of human affairs is futile or feeble on account of failing to reckon with the traditions which produced the objectionable conditions. A knowledge of persistent historical forces would reveal unconscious assumptions which it is the great task of critics to expose. When these are laid bare one can begin to think with some thoroughness.

The enhanced interest in the developments of each year as it passes has led us to make certain discoveries which might otherwise have remained for the coming generation to point out. I will give but one very striking instance. Beard and I have been rewriting and greatly expanding our old *Development of Modern Europe* prepared a score of years ago. We found occasion to alter the account of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in many ways. As Leonard Merrick says in one of his stories, there are plenty of sign boards along life's pathway, but the directions are only visible when one has passed them. Recently mankind has been scuttling along at such a rate that historians can now read many of those which were blank to their immediate predecessors. When, for example, the diplomats at Vienna tossed Prussia a few sleepy villages near the Rhine, especially in the Ruhr valley, they could not see a sign far down the road inscribed *"Nach Krupp und Stinnes"*. No more could we realize what was to be the outcome of European exploration, occupation and colonization when it was reënforced by machine manufacture, modern means of communication and financial enterprise. Beard had trotted down the trail and peeked around the sign when he included "imperialism" in our old edition. This recently coined word greatly enriches the historical vocabulary of the nineteenth century. In recognition of the impression it has made on us we decided to call our second volume *The Merging of European into World History*. This was partly due to a conversation I had with Breasted last spring. His far-roving eye saw that western European history was but a chapter in world history.

In the region west of Vienna modern experimental and applied natural science produced far more momentous, revolutionary, and farther reaching effects than any of man's old ways of managing his surroundings. They are, of course, making over all his notions of himself as well. It would never have occurred to most nineteenth century historians to include an account of the progress of scientific research and invention in what they called history, but now it ranks with that of Church and State—should mayhap be accorded a larger place than they in reviewing the changes of the last two or three centuries.

The applications of scientific knowledge generated the means for its dissemination to the uttermost parts of the globe. So Western Europe produced a new type of civilization (as had the Egyptians and the Greeks) which spread not only to the vast stretches of Eastern Europe (pretty much a blank in the old manuals though no longer overlooked) but made its way into Africa, and is overwhelming the ancient civilizations of India, China, and Japan. In this process of westernizing the world the United States has been assuming a more and more important rôle, until it is now the recognized and feared rival of the whole of Western Europe.

Since the War there have been established a World Council, a World Court and, latterly, a World Bank. In the creation of two of these, citizens of the United States played a conspicuous part. The most skeptical must see in all these at least unprecedented gestures in the furtherance of human unification. It may be that the last mentioned, the World Bank, may ere long be speaking more convincingly than either League or Court.

So the old divisions of history into Greek and Roman, Medieval and Modern, English and American which seemed good in our eyes thirty years ago, form, taken all together, one gigantic episode in the history of humanity as a whole. We are now in a position to envisage it as such and to readjust our historical narratives on this basis.

I surmise that to most historical students at the opening of the century the world looked fairly stabilized. The great upheavals seemed to be behind us. We were busy investigating and describing them, with no suspicion that they might come to seem scarcely more than curtain raisers for a tragedy that was about to unfold. The industrial revolution, as we had come to call it, appeared to be a *fait accompli*; we did not realize that it was only the forerunner of still more astonishing developments due to the utilization of electricity and the internal combustion engine. We were usually liberals, with no inclination to question the beneficence of democracy and representative government. We foresaw no overwhelming socialistic victories. We were under the influence of many other assumptions of which we were unconscious.

The most important of these unconscious assumptions was perhaps our general confidence in the process by which current arrangements and conventions had been elaborated in the past. We did not ask ourselves what promise of easy and happy readjustments to a new order of affairs could be discovered in the ways in which our accepted institutions, standards, and scheme of moral values had come about. It was our special business as historians to trace the aggressions, oppressions, surrenders, and compromises, together with the persistent defense of habits and beliefs originating in venerated ignorance and gross misapprehensions of man and his world, which had debouched in the situation as we found it at the opening of this century. We traced these things it is true, but, as I look back, failed to see their vital bearing on our false assumption of stability. Human proceedings seemed to be more orderly than they really had been, finally to culminate in a situation where we could quietly review the past and hope for the best. I think that we might as well admit that we did not know enough to see much sense in the utterance of one of Mr. Wells's characters: " The best men, the wisest, the best of mankind, the stars of human wisdom, were but half ineffectual angels carried on the shoulders, and guided by the steps, of beasts." As I lately reviewed the story of Western Europe during the past three or four hundred years, I was filled with a sort of dismay, which I did not feel so keenly twenty years ago.

Beginning with 1914 the old ways of historians were put to a fearful test. How did these old ways bear the test? Very badly, as I think we must all admit. Did such knowledge as historians had arduously accumulated of the past serve to make them wiser than their fellows? Hardly. In all countries they were unable to overcome their native susceptibility to the prejudices of their particular tribe. They applauded the old battle cries. They blew trumpets and grasped halberds. They gulped down propaganda which in a later mood they realized was nauseous. They were, in short, easily sold out, for their studies had not prepared them to assess the sudden emotional crisis much better than the man in the street. I am not thinking especially of ourselves. But in retrospect our moats appear about as sizable as the beams of British, French, and German historians.

Yet how, otherwise, could we have learned the great lessons we have? And great lessons we have learned. We see now that history at its best needs not simply to be authentic. Its value, as a contribution to wisdom, depends on the selection we make from the recorded occurrences and institutions of the past, and our presentation of them. During the War I was hotly accused by the editors of two highly respectable papers of readjusting paragraphs in my textbooks to gratify a passing fury. I did make readjustments, as did all other writers of school books, but my new statements were quite as *authentic*, or seemed so at the time, as what I had originally said. The contention of the editors was that history is history, and could not be changed. In one sense this is true, but in the form of a record prepared by a human being it is about as malleable as potter's clay. The older histories may be authentic but leave all sorts of new histories to be written, which will be quite as scrupulous in the examination of their data and more intelligent in their interpretations.

One of the first questions a layman asks is whether the historical writer is impartial and objective. We thought that we were impartial in 1900 if we showed no religious bias and, in the case of American history, preserved a proper detachment in treating the Civil War. These requirements were readily met. Since the World War, the chief bugbears have been evolution, radicalism (including suspicion of socialistic and pacificistic leanings), reflections on standardized patriots and glorious deeds and, lastly, an illicit love for Great Britain. Once on his guard it is not difficult for a writer to meet such objections by being a little too nimble to get caught.

Recently a restless clergyman wrote to me for a list of the most scholarly attacks on religion. I replied that there were no scholarly attacks on religion. A George Moore, McGiffert or Guignebert recalls and explains as best he can the institutions, varieties of faith and practices classified under the caption "religion". They no longer feel the old ardor of Christian polemic. When the Christian Platonist Henry More first heard of the doctrines of Spinoza he forgot both Christ and Plato and snapped like a dog whose tail had been trod on. He could see only an "unclean and foul atheist" who would discover God in "stones, mire, lead and dung". Had he known what we do he would have seen that all these things have a divine interest exceeding that of his own theological treatises.

After the War came a tolerance which is not artificial or assumed or condescending. This is the striking note in recent historical writing. There is a tendency to follow the example of great story-tellers and dramatists. These are inclined neither to applaud nor blame but to describe and narrate. Their characters are neither good nor bad, but just poor devils of various temperaments in bewildering situations, groping their way through the maze of life. People in the past must have been in much the same plight.

As a text for the remainder of this address I will take a remarkable series of reflections on history coming from a wholly unexpected source. In the year 1740 Joseph Butler, Lord Bishop of Durham, author of the famous *Analogy*, so long used in our older colleges, delivered a sermon before the House of Lords. He seems to have been in a mood of singular frankness. He says: "The history of all ages and all countries will show what has really been going forward over the face of the earth to be very different from what has always been pretended. And that virtue has been everywhere professed much more than it has been practiced; nor could society, from the very nature of its constitution, subsist without some general profession of it. Thus the face and appearance which the world has at all times put on, for the ease and ornament of life, and in pursuit of further ends, is the greatest satire upon what has at all times been carrying on under it."

This distinction which the Lord Bishop of Durham so long ago recommended, between the "general profession"—"the face and appearance" of human doings—as over against "what at all times has been carrying on", can not fail to arouse many disquieting doubts in the open-minded. It has been said of a Victorian philosopher, Mansel, that he set forth so fairly and eloquently the arguments against the existence of God that he was never able to answer them. I can expose the superficiality of much that has passed for history without being able to recommend any very definite ways of rendering our insight more profound. What we formerly deemed especially authentic were "documents"—the Rule of St. Benedict, Charlemagne's Capitularies, Magna Carta, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, the amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Are these examples of the "face and appearance" of things or of what was "carried on" under them?

One can at least derive a certain inward peace from a frank recognition that a certain duplicity or dissimulation has been an inevitable concomitant of human development from a wild beast. Man has long found solace in good talk to offset bad conduct. As the Lord Bishop of Durham admits, virtue is essential "for the ease and ornament of life and in pursuit of further ends". He is only mistaken, from our recent standpoint, in regarding the contrast between our professions and our conduct as a "satire". Let us call it high aspiration, the expression of the ideal, or, more rudely, wishful thinking, rationalizing, compensation—to use current terms. The pretension of transcending the mean and disappointing experiences of life has been one of the strongest forces in advancing civilization.

Speech gave man a unique power to lead a double life. He could say one thing and do another. In his purely animal estate he was confined to mere doing. Hunger would drive him to devour either rabbits or raspberries, if they came to hand. He could not proclaim himself a vegetarian and then eat young chicks in the form of eggs. He could not, like the diplomats before the War, arrange treaties involving contingent aggression under the guise of securing peace. Such things are the exclusive privilege of human beings.

In dealing with a great part of human history we must be contented with the face and appearance of things, and can not hope to gain much knowledge of what was carrying on underneath. For that we have to turn to a class of sources which historians have eagerly used when they had them but which seemed to lack the authenticity of documents. I refer of course to those writings of the past classified as literature. Our knowledge of the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans would be scanty indeed were it not amplified by such portions of their respective literatures as have escaped destruction. A good deal of this is of course idealistic and romantic or was archaic even at the time it was written. We should be greatly better off had a Dickens been scouring the lanes of Jerusalem when Deuteronomy received its final codification. Had Charlemagne summoned from England an H. G. Wells to his court instead of Alcuin, Einhard's life of that monarch would cease to be the precious little work it now is. Jane Austen could, from the standpoint of the historian, advantageously be substituted for Margaret of Navarre. Matters can not at this late date be arranged to suit the historian's needs, but it is clear that the lack of novelists through the ages is a fact he must mourn. As matters are, I prefer Chaucer to Stubbs's *Select Charters,* and Shakespeare to Gee and Hardy.

Future historical writers when they come to describe our own days will be forced to assign the modern novel a high place in the hierarchy of sources. From Richardson and Fielding downward there are many stories in which the fictional and romantic elements are merely the form in which serious descriptions and criticisms of contemporaneous life are presented by excellently qualified reporters. With Ibsen the drama was added to the novel as a reflection of what was carrying on beneath the general profession of virtue.

I have been dealing with history in a very large—to some, it may seem, reckless way; thinking of it as an account of the mighty drama of our race; as absolutely essential in every scheme of education which aims at a general preparation for an intelligent life. Never before has the historical writer been in a position so favorable as now for bringing the past into such intimate relations with the present that they shall seem one, and shall flow and merge into our own personal history. The growing recognition that we are super-animals, not degraded angels, is making clear what was once dark. Our animal origin has hitherto seemed to most historical writers an "intractable, uncouth, grotesque fact". It is rapidly ceasing to appear as such, but rather as the very secret of new and unlimited insight. The self-creation of a wild animal, as Robert Briffault exclaims, "by the sole operation of his inherent qualities and powers, by the unfolding of what was in him, . . . unaided by any external power, in the face of the buffets of hostile nature, of the intractabilities of his own constitution, into MAN, the demi-god, the thinker, the deviser, the aspirer after truth and justice, greater in his achievements and his ideals than all the gods he is capable of conceiving—if there is a fact before which we may truly bow in solemn reverence and silent wonder, it is that".

James Harvey Robinson.

A SYNTHETIC PRINCIPLE IN AMERICAN SOCIAL HISTORY[1]

It is interesting to look out upon a solemn congress of historians; it seems distinguished by an eminent dignity. The human mind learns by experience and it may well regard with reverence those who know the experience of the race, those who have learned the lessons of history. These historians are society's eyes of retrospection. The awestruck visitor marvels at the wisdom that must have come from all this searching. But if he listens long enough he will be puzzled and disquieted by a question that, sooner or later, is certain to be put. Some one will arise and say with an air of immense profundity, "Ah, but what is history?". There is soon discovered the widest disagreement and now disillusioned, the visitor concludes that those who do not know what history is can scarcely know its lessons. He may think that a society which depends on organs of retrospection that focus in so many different places must be strabismic, or, in plain words, badly cross-eyed.

"There stands Massachusetts", thundered Daniel Webster in majestic phrase, "her past at least is secure!" Had he been spared to read a shelf of histories by various authors by the name of Adams he would have realized that its past was not only insecure but quite defenseless. If history is constantly rearranging the past, it is now somewhat rearranging itself. Really, it is these uncertainties, these amiable disputes as to what history is, that make it at the moment a very live concern. Students flock to history classes because of rumors that adventures are there under way. Especially stirring is the new adventure of systematic social history, long contemplated and long preached, but tried as a subject of collegiate study chiefly in the past ten years. Classroom history, till lately, was supposed to deal with legal institutions and armed conflicts, and nowhere was this purview more generally accepted than in America, where the enormous task of building and maintaining forty-eight states in a federal union has attracted our historians especially into this political preoccupation.

Political historians have defended their monopoly by arguing that all the hopes and fears of man were ultimately registered in politics. Said one, some thirty years ago, "It is only through law and institutions that social forces become in a large sense operative". This exclusiveness was long since challenged by those who excavated the foundations of our economic life, and more recently have come others, brightly flaunting their modernity though really sprung from a forgotten ancestry in the eighteenth century enlightenment, who claim an all-embracing breadth for history. Nothing that is human is alien to them, and some like J. H. Robinson are restive even under this implied restraint and discover fascinating interest in the social life of monkeys.

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[1] A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Chapel Hill, Dec. 31, 1929.

These social historians brand their elder brethren as mere specialists, crowding them into a corner. Outside the *leges,* civil and ecclesiastical, they contend are the *mores,* quasi-institutions like business corporations, colleges, trade unions and groupings quite unknown to law, societies to save humanity from one disaster or another, societies to cultivate a common taste. Guild socialists admonish us that these are what men live by and that politics, as generally understood, is obsolete. But beyond the sphere of organization are the folkways, unconscious but insistent social habits, currents of custom strong in the cumulative power of suggestion, against which only individuals with imagination and courage or, sometimes, sheer perversity, can make their way. In studying a people at a given time and place it is desirable to know the prevailing attitude of children toward their parents and vice versa. What was the public view of discipline, of pleasure, beauty, honesty, or thrift? A double standard in family relationships may deserve the historian's attention as much as a double standard in the currency. Mrs. Grundy may be more important than the President. There have been times when politics became a dominant concern, but most men in most times, and certainly most women, have paid it little personal attention. It has absorbed historians in part because it kept neat records. Always the man who leaves a diary or a treatise, or the group that leaves a minute book, figures disproportionately on the page of history.

Politics is interesting to most people as a game to watch, a conflict of wits, the stuff of drama. But its recreation in historical narrative, even when accomplished with due art, has seemed tedious to many because of its remoteness from the ordinary experience of life. Our leading manufacturer Mr. Ford believed that history as he had heard of it was not only unprofitable but vicious, tending as it did to exalt bloodshed and diplomatic cunning rather than the peaceful arts and the interests of the common life; he declared in his forceful way that it was not sound learning. Then with unflagging enterprise he gathered the physical remains of pre-machine days, with magic hand bodied forth long-vanished scenes in three-dimensional reality, revived old customs, and unwittingly proved himself one of the most enthusiastic and effective historians of our age. " If ", wrote Emerson in his *Journal,* " we had a series of faithful portraits of private life in Egypt, Assyria, Greece and Rome, we might relinquish without a sigh their national annals." During the century since those words were penned the historians of antiquity have more and more made such portraits their concern; this may be one reason for the increasing popularity of ancient history in recent years. History is a phase of life, the phase that is past but still operative in its influence. If one really ponders upon politics most of the time as he walks along the street, then he might well devote most of his historical study to politics. But if he thinks mostly of manners and morals, of arts and amusements, or of his own business, then is it not reasonable to study the history of these concerns?

By broadening its range, it seems, history will attract more readers. But the critic interrupts to say that anyone who did not wish to read of politics has long since had other histories to read, histories of medicine, of art, of science, of philosophy, to say nothing of the histories of religion and of economic effort. As time goes on successive groups of specialists achieve a high degree of self-consciousness and must have their histories; so there are under way histories of the public health movement, of paleontology, of organized sport. Strangely enough, all these have been acknowledged to be histories but not exactly history. To the orthodox a monograph on the development of medicine in Michigan would not have been regarded as eligible material, a monograph on Indian warfare would. To say that all this is changing suggests that general history seems to some, now rather more than formerly, a practicable human achievement.

General history implies that we can generalize. It is not the history of little groups but of great masses, and supposes, therefore, that the mass can feel a common impulse, think a common thought, perform a common act. It suggests, at least ideally, that there is some relation between medical history and art history and economic history and the rest, that in each may be exhibited common human traits and common human progress or at any rate common human change. It resembles natural science in counting on a certain degree of regularity. What was typical and what was singular? asks the scholar as he reads biography and local history; the typical is interesting as the very staple of general history, the singular as illustrating the fact of aberration in the human race. As with the scientist the data are widely various and infinitely numerous and the judgment must be keen as to what constitutes a proper sample. Like science general history examines all the data it can find, with Baconian faith that out of subconsciousness some sort of explanation will suggest itself. If the faith is justified, with this second stage mere industry gives way to scholarship; the historian sets out to check his guess, and laboriously month after month, perhaps year after year, tries to fit great quantities of new facts into his suggested pattern. If perchance they seem to fit, lifted by a dizzy and a dangerous elation, he announces a principle of synthesis, an interpretation. Then, tragically, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, nothing happens. His evidence turns out to be so meager he can not get even a passing attention for his brave conclusions, unless they be so wondrously bizarre that for a moment he must endure a prominence in public ridicule. Fortunately there is a hundredth chance that he may have hit on something that others can take seriously, or at least find useful as suggesting an approach in historical investigation.

The fact is that the reading public would rather have the writer take the risk. It wants, as it might say, to make some head and tail out of this so-called social history. Every undergraduate has read a certain history of the people of the United States properly considered in a large sense the pioneer work in this enormous field. It showed how many, many things outside the scope of politics were affected with a human and therefore an historical interest, presented them oftentimes with vivid picturesqueness, and spaded into light many kinds of forgotten source material, notably long-buried files of newspapers. It will, therefore, permanently stand as one of the significant works in our historiography. But to the modern reader it seems more like a giant notebook than a history; if there is design he does not easily discover it. One topic after another is interestingly illustrated, not discussed; it seems as if the author published whatever he had chanced to find on one topic after another, never rejecting a bright fact even though it had but little value in any conceivable mosaic, never waiting to find the little necessary bits of evidence to make a picture that told something definite; the sketches were stuck one to another in the row by transition sentences oftentimes so strangely adventitious as to bring a smile even to the most appreciative.

The reader wants philosophy if he can get it, which is another way of saying that he wants arrangement that leaves him with an idea. It scarcely needs be said that he is making an exorbitant demand. H. T. Buckle thought it could be met, though with difficulty, and roundly scolded historians in general because they had not tried to meet it. Recalling that the expectation of regularity in nature had long since become an article of faith with men of science he said, " If the same expectation is not generally found among historians, it must be ascribed partly to their being of inferior ability to the investigators of nature, and partly to the greater complexity of those social phenomena with which their studies are concerned ". He found the key in the influence of environment upon society, not only upon economic but upon aesthetic, religious, political, and other human interests. The anthropogeographers have followed in his train—we in America are recently familiar with the climate thesis of Professor Huntington —but they have usually known the geographical stage rather better than the historical drama which they allege it has so drastically conditioned. Hegel, at the other extreme, found the determinant in a world spirit working for the despot in the ancient Orient, for the " dominant order " in the classical age, and for man as a free being in modern times. Not greatly different in its processional quality was the culture-epoch theory that all societies must rise through stages like an individual. Spengler carries it a little further; what true history should show is the growth of a society into civilization and then a hardening and decay. Not greatly different in the sense of destiny was the Christian theory first summed up by Augustine that God had willed the rise and fall of successive empires as a preliminary exercise to establishing the city of perfection. Much modern history, formerly political but lately upon many themes, arranges itself to exhibit the overpowering growth of nationalism. Then, too, since Heeren's time a popular theory of history has been that most things, at least within historic time, got done by reason of the economic motive functioning in the struggle between self-conscious classes. That this scheme, dangerous in ordinary hands, can be used with sanity and restraint, is illustrated in the Beards's *Rise of American Civilization*; it is that conception which gives unity and organization to the book. Others can tell us the really significant history of the world in terms of education, of agriculture, of architecture, or of literature.

Any general history that is more than a heap of data or a collection of little monographic pamphlets haply bound within a single pair of covers must adopt some principle or principles of synthesis. " Truth ", wrote St. Thomas Aquinas, " is the adequation of the thing and the understanding." Facts are useful only if they tell us something. In writing general history it may be better to build on a wrong thesis than on none at all. " Truth ", observes another philosopher, Lord Bacon, " emerges more readily from error than from confusion."

We have been speaking of the general historians as if they constituted a considerable class. Really there are very few with such Gargantuan appetite that they claim all creation for their feast. Most of those who seek to set in order the multiplied complexities of modern times are content with one form of civilization, indeed more often with the experience of a single people or section or county. Others even within this narrower field confine intensive study to one period, one phase, one human interest or one occupation, but with new purpose and new spirit. Histories of medicine by doctors, of law by lawyers, of art by critics, are from our point of view written by untrained amateurs. The qualified historian knows less of the technique and problems of the specialty he writes upon, but from much previous study he knows more of human relations in times past. He writes of medicine not as an art but as a group function, how and why communities supported their physicians, what they had in common with lawyers, clergymen and other people and how their influence was different, their methods of recruitment, their professional discipline, the degree of their authority and control, in short the interplay of physicians and society.

In these remarks much has been said of general history, though in the sodality of those pledged to its service the term is seldom used. Rather, one hears of social history, which may or may not mean the same. The fact is that the social historian, though this may not be believed, is oftentimes a practically minded person. Realizing how much has been done in political and military history he tends, for the present without resigning theoretical claims, to neglect them. Those parts of ecclesiastical, economic, or literary history which have been well done likewise call him less insistently; though, as has been suggested, he is constantly concerned with their interrelations. In the actual gathering of original materials he is more likely to be found reaping fields not much invaded before by competent historical scholarship. Due to this fact, one comes on classifications of historical interests as political, military, ecclesiastical, and what not, winding up with social history as a synonym for miscellaneous or nondescript. In this mistaken view the social historian seems permanently a specialist in curiosities rather than a man of science seeking by the study of the past to discover and then to present in systematic form how societies have behaved. Into whatever strange bypaths he wanders he carries in his pocket a rough tentative sketch-map of the entire country, to which as he is able he adds his emendations.

As you have long since suspected, the social historian is often the victim of a secret bias toward simplicity. He is apt to think that he can find one principle of synthesis into which everything can be jammed. A sociologist, long nourished on principles, who borrows history, is likely thus to rummage the past for illustrations, rather more than the historian, trained to respect facts in themselves, who borrows the point of view of sociology. The sane historian soon finds that he can not explain all that a society has done by what it has had to eat or by its tools or by rainfall or soil exhaustion or topography. As any child would say, a number of things have to be taken into account. Nevertheless in this pluralistic interpretation he wants to take as few of them as possible. Among the few principles he takes, that which enables him to give meaning to the greatest number of facts is the best. The Beards, to return to one enterprise, have thought the contest of economic classes a good principle of design for the exposition of American social history, but actually and properly they have decorated the borders of this picture with much matter quite as interesting as the elements within. Judged by the canon of inclusiveness it is a principle which would not satisfy all historians even as the most available. It assumes that most men most of the time are trying to do somebody else out of property; it further assumes that those who contemplate the same victim tend to work together, that more historic facts can be explained or related on this principle than on any other, and that therefore as a touchstone of significance it suggests the best scheme for the presentation of history. If with all this many will disagree, upon them rests the burden of finding another or a few other principles.

In dealing with American history one notices that different times have different dominant ideas; now it is the growing national consciousness, now the desire for cultural independence, now democracy, now submission to urban standards, now the insistence upon social control in place of *laissez faire*. Yielding no worship to an Hegelian *Zeitgeist,* we may roughly periodize American history according to these dominants, well realizing, however, that each must share its power with other contemporary ideas only less imposing. Yet there is a general sense of growth in culture, or at least in civilization. How can the growth at any given time be measured? The physical community grows simply larger and can be gauged as by successive rings; but civilization itself grows in the mode of evolution, constantly dividing and subdividing functions toward greater and greater complexity.

Suppose a community of men and women, who unlike primitive folk are tolerant of social change, isolated on a distant but opulent island and growing only by natural increase. In this case civilization would soon bear a rough ratio to numbers. Most men, themselves concerned with the fundamental problem of staying alive, might be willing to support a specialist who could relieve them of supplementary worries, a single specialist who would counsel them on their relations to the spirit world, on their relations with each other, on their health, on the perception and expression of beauty, and on many other things. Some one would try it, and if he found social support the variety would become permanent through the intellectual propagation of successors. As the community grew one such specialist would not be enough and support would be furnished others up to a certain number. If more tried it than the community needed the marginal professionals, of course, would have to perish.

Some learned man, we may imagine, feels more interest and competence in the health province of his domain; he abandons his other responsibilities and, if conditions are friendly, survives as a specialist in that field alone. That is to say, he has discovered that the community has here and there, with the growth of numbers, such a fair continuity of problems of this sort as to pay for his living by their solution. Ultimately he creates successors by example or by casual training. Another experimental variation has become a permanent variety. The doctor has branched off the professional stem, as the clergyman, the teacher, the artist and the lawyer may soon do as well. The full recognition of the permanent profession comes with the establishment of an institution for formal training. Up to the last stage all that we have said applies as well to crafts or skills.

But the evolution of professional species has only now begun. In the Boston *Gazette*, February 6, 1738, Peter Pelham advertised that he taught " Dancing, Writing, Reading, painting upon Glass, and all kinds of needle work "; he was a painter, an engraver and also gave instruction on the harpsichord and in the elements of psalmody. It will be noticed that he was a functionary but partly differentiated; he was not a farmer, a seafaring man, a clergyman, a doctor, or a lawyer, it is true, but he contained within himself the rudimentary beginnings of half a dozen specialists. Really, that society of 1738 did not have sufficient occasion for him in all these varied forms of competence to keep him alive and he had to piece out as a merchant of tobacco. Eventually there would be engravers, dancing masters, painters, musicians, various teachers of elementary subjects including manual training, who could trace back the converging lines of their respective developments to such an unforked stem of their general branch.

So, too, one sees the printer in the course of time throw off the editor, the publisher, the advertising man; the clergyman develop special functionaries like the college professor, the missionary, the religious teacher, the social worker and the like; the doctor, indulging one of his interests, produce the naturalist; and the naturalist break up into the geologist, the botanist, the chemist, to say nothing of the later petrologist, histologist and the rest. Institutions parallel all this differentiation. In 1800 one theatre program might offer Hamlet, a farce and a hornpipe; while in 1900 these three forms of entertainment are found in three different theatres, just as the old general store has become a half a dozen different kinds of stores. As in biological evolution the mother type may itself persist—the printer, the clergyman, and the doctor we have noticed are examples—or contrasting with the biological process the undifferentiated type, as in the case of the general naturalist, may almost vanish.

Sometimes, if the botanists will allow the figure, a twig from a humbler bush works its way up to join some shoot from the professional tree to form a new branch. When Asher Benjamin published *The Country Builder's Assistant* at Greenfield, Massachusetts, in 1797, he described himself as a "housewright". Then he mixed with artists for a season. On the title page of his *American Builder's Companion* (Boston, 1805) he appears as "architect and carpenter", in his work of 1830 he presents himself as "architect", one of the first men of American training thus to make such a professional claim. By the same anastomosis from the farrier and the doctor, as we might illustrate, came the veterinary surgeon; from another kind of doctor's interest joining with one of the barber's actually came the dentist. We can see the undertaker breaking upward from the joiner, sometimes with precise date as the traveler John Lambert records at Charleston in 1807, but no really scientific interest bent down to join him and he remains and flourishes in the space between the trades and the professions. All this is not mere speculation but the common facts of record. It does not offer a theory of social history, if such a thing were conceivable, but a scheme of organizing social history.

In the history of civilization, if not the history of culture, the degree of differentiation is one measure of maturity. The community's knowledge and competence is advanced in particulars by specialization. The community that insists on each individual acquiring all he needs by personal experience must be satisfied with less than one which trusts the expert. The Old South had among its planters an attractive culture, but in so far as it failed to develop various professionals and imported its art, its science, its literature, its collegiate education, it was a dependent province in a larger civilization, though it made its characteristic contribution of certain experts, such as planters, statesmen, and military men.

A certain complicated civilization may be less distinguished in some forms of culture than a certain simpler one. It may be that the present-day Americans, highly differentiated, can not rival the Greeks in sculpture. If so one asks the reason for this fact as he traces out the evolution of the species in this climate, as he watches John Frazee, a Jerseyman who lettered gravestones, and Hezekiah Augur, a clever carver of ships' figure-heads in New Haven, a little more than a century ago, slowly turning into pioneer sculptors of portrait busts. What delayed that branching? On the other hand what hurried the differentiation of characteristic American types, the lawyer-politician, the college administrator, the dentist, the planter and the rest? How far was the disparity in social evolution between North and South responsible for the Civil War? It is surprising how much that we recognize as the stuff of social history can be related to this theme-plot of social evolution, using the word as the biologists use it to describe the process of differentiation.

Actually, the isolated people we imagined, where social evolution proceeds so neatly of itself, does not exist and has not for many centuries. In the contacts of the world there has operated the multiform example of other communities; carriers, conscious or unconscious, have brought suggestion toward new interests, new needs, new specialties. A colonial society has memories that quicken differentiation along the lines well known at home. A young community easily reached from one older and more mature receives adventurous specialists so fast that it has little need to invent them if it could. Indeed, they are likely to come too fast and many die of inanition. Civilization in transit in such a case is more active than civilization in natural evolution. If we return to our figure of the tree, these chance influences from outside, these winds from the east, have been constantly tending to graft on new branchlets, many times successfully, where they might or might not have grown in time themselves. Conditions of environment or new apparatus as well as such chance importations may encourage the growth and differentiation of some branches much faster than others.

It is the claim of this paper that the concept of social evolution, with due attention to such modifications, offers an available scheme on which to bring an immense number of seemingly discrete facts into an understandable relation. How far and in what way did any influence check or accelerate social evolution? How did social evolution produce the dominant ideas we talked of as marking certain times and, more important, how far was it modified by them in turn? This scheme does not explain facts, but brings many of them into relation, which is what the social historian really wants. It does not integrate everything; much has to be hung on other racks. For instance, some of the folkways we mentioned some time since are but distantly related to it. But it can be of greater aid than most writers of social history have noticed. It brings together the history of Connecticut and the history of Colorado. A kinetic principle, it helps make social history more than a series of panoramic culture pictures; it helps make of it a living whole.

DIXON RYAN FOX.

THE TRIBUTE LISTS AND THE NON-TRIBUTARY MEMBERS OF THE DELIAN LEAGUE[1]

THE purpose of this paper is to reëxamine in the light of the so-called Athenian tribute lists the ancient evidence for the acceptance of tributary status by such members of the Delian League as had originally agreed to furnish ships for the allied fleet. This form of commutation was an important step in the transition by which the Athenian Empire was created out of the Delian League, and upon it ancient and modern historians have placed much emphasis.

The tribute lists are audited records of the *aparche* (first fruits) paid in the name of the tributary members of the Delian League (Athenian Empire) to the goddess Athena out of the tribute which Athens collected. Since the *aparche* was one-sixtieth of the tribute paid by each city, it is easy to compute from these records the amount of tribute received from each tributary state, so far as the records are preserved. At the end of each year the names of all cities that had made a payment were inscribed in columns on stone, and the amount of *aparche* was set opposite each name. The series of tribute lists was begun in 454/3 and was continued for forty years, until Athens devised another method of collecting money from her subjects. The tribute lists therefore are documents of prime importance for the history of the Athenian Empire, and a knowledge of them is indispensable to the historian of the period.

Unfortunately, the stones on which these documents were inscribed have suffered great damage since they were first erected on the Acropolis. The first stone, the one with which this paper is particularly concerned, is now broken into more than one hundred pieces, some of them scarcely larger than a man's fist; and in several of the fifteen annual lists which were inscribed on this block the lacunae are larger than the fragments now preserved. Four years ago Professor B. D. Meritt and I became convinced that published copies of the tribute lists on this block could not be used with safety for historical studies. Even the width and height of the block and the length of most of the lists were unknown. In fact, the very uncertainties had opened the way to extravagant theories as to the number of tributaries and the amount of tribute collected from year to year. We came to the problem as students of history, but when we turned to the actual stones for answers to our questions, we deserted history for the moment and became epigraphists. Now that our epigraphical work is nearly finished we are returning to the historical problems which prompted our investigations.

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[1] A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association, at Indianapolis, Dec. 31, 1928.

At this point it is necessary to summarize the results of our studies in so far as they have a bearing on the topic of this paper. In all previous publications, lacunae of indeterminable length made it impossible to ascertain the number of lines in each of the first eight tribute lists.[2] Thus in no year could the number of cities paying tribute be counted even approximately. It follows also that estimates of the amount of tribute collected were wholly unreliable. In this respect, our work on the stones in the museum at Athens was particularly fruitful, for the exact length of six of the eight lists is now known, and the length of the other two can be estimated with considerable accuracy. The final proof of our theoretical reconstruction of the six lists has been furnished by physical joins between fragments which remove our conclusions from the realm of conjectural speculation.[3]

A comparison of Cavaignac's estimates, to take an extreme example, of the length of the first eight lists[4] with their actual length as determined by this reconstruction will make clear the significance of the recent discoveries. Cavaignac estimated that there was room in each of the first two lists for about 250 names. His figures are more than seventy-five per cent. too high, for the maximum number of tributaries in these years was 140.[5] In the third and fourth years, for which Cavaignac's estimate was 200 tributaries, the maximum number of names listed was 147 and 157. Such is the record for the first assessment period.

For the second assessment period, embracing the years 449–446, there is apparently an increase in the number of cities paying tribute, but irregularities in the collection of tribute, the cause of which can not be considered here, resulted in two short lists, the sixth and the seventh. The maximum length of the fifth list was 183 names, that of the eighth about 195.[6] Cavaignac's estimate for all four lists was again 200.

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[2] *Cf. Inscriptiones Graecae,* vol. I.^{2} (*editio minor*) 191–198.

[3] For our reconstruction of the first eight lists, see *Transactions and Proceedings* of the American Philological Association, LVI. (1925) 252–267; *American Journal of Philology,* XLVII. (1926) 171–176; *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XXXVII. (1926) 55–98; *American Journal of Archaeology,* XXXII. (1928) 281–297.

[4] E. Cavaignac, *Études sur l'Histoire Financière d'Athènes au Ve Siècle; Trésor d'Athènes de 480 à 404* (Paris, 1908), pp. xxxi–xxxiv.

[5] The figures for the second year are approximate.

[6] These two lists are exceptional, for a number of cities are credited with two payments. Since our maximum estimates as given above do not take into considera-

That the number of the cities actually paying tribute increased in the second period may be shown in another way. A catalogue of tributaries compiled from the records of the first four years numbers approximately 175. During the second four years 185 cities are known to have paid tribute.[7] Thus the extant tribute records do not support the view commonly held by historians[8] that the league, or empire, was at its height both in numbers and in tribute during the first four years after the tribute lists began. Nor do they provide satisfactory evidence for the assumption that the transfer of the treasury to Athens, about a year before our first list was made, and the dedication of a sixtieth part of the tribute to Athena, which followed the transfer, mark the transition from Delian League to Athenian Empire. When properly understood they tend to prove the contrary.

In the first place, a comparison of the first two periods shows that the accounts of the second period contain about twenty names which do not appear, and for which there is no room, in any of the lists of the first period. Some of them are those of Carian towns, mostly small, which apparently joined, or rejoined, the league at the time of Cimon's last expedition to Cyprus in 450.[9] But there were others which must have been included in the league from its earliest days. We shall consider them later.

We must now turn our attention to the ancient literary sources for the transition from Delian League to Athenian Empire. The brief outline provided by Thucydides, which ancient and modern scholars have used perforce as a foundation for their studies, can be supplemented by statements from Plutarch. But Plutarch's reputation is not of the best, and often it has happened that his statements are rejected on *a priori* grounds. At times poorly preserved inscriptions have been responsible for unwarranted scepticism. Even Thu-

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tion the possibility of duplicate entries other than those actually known, and since only 185 cities are known to have been tributary during this assessment period, our figures are probably too generous, particularly for the eighth year.

[7] These figures do not fully show the difference between the first two periods, for a number of names appearing in the first period do not reappear in the second. The discrepancy between the figure for period 1 (175 tributaries) given in this paragraph and those given in the second paragraph above (140, 147, 157) is due to the fact that the league was lax in collecting tribute.

[8] Readers of this paper are requested not to take exception to broad generalizations about the views of modern scholars. It would serve no useful purpose to fill these pages with detailed references to points on which I can not agree with them and on which they disagree among themselves, since they were laboring under misapprehensions about the length of the early lists so serious as to invalidate their conclusions. Nor is it my purpose to print a bibliography of the topic.

[9] The exact year is a matter of controversy which need not be discussed here.

cydides has been accused of inaccuracy because his express statements have seemed at variance with the tribute lists. In theory it is quite true that this series of records, being audited accounts published annually, is to be preferred to Thucydides and later writers when contradictions appear; but in practice the cause of truth has suffered, for arguments based supposedly upon the tribute lists have often had nothing more stable for a foundation than a highly subjective interpretation based in part upon their faulty reconstruction. We must therefore adhere closely to our ancient authorities, as did Grote, who, being unhampered by epigraphical discoveries, was able to describe in a masterly fashion the transitional period of the Delian League.[10]

From Thucydides, our chief primary source, we learn that the allies were divided into two groups when the league was founded, those that contributed money and those that contributed ships;[11] and we infer from the emphasis which he lays upon the matter of ships that the non-tributary cities, the cities furnishing ships, formed no small part of the whole. After speaking of the revolt of Naxos, the first of the cities to be illegally enslaved, Thucydides says that the chief causes for trouble were delinquency in the payment of tribute, failure to furnish ships, and in certain instances failure to provide troops.[12] He says also that the allies brought slavery upon themselves, for the majority of them disliked military service and absence from home.[13] They therefore accepted tributary status in place of providing ships for the fleet. Certainly Thucydides intends us to think that the substitution of tribute for ships affected more than a handful of the more important allies.

When we try to give dates to the developments outlined above, Thucydides offers us important clues. The paragraph of which I have given the substance, describing as it does in succinct form the causes of the transition, is obviously introductory to the detailed account of the years 466–440[14] which immediately follows. Thus the transition, according to Thucydides, began with the revolt of Naxos and ended with the submission of Samos. Within these years we must place the voluntary acceptance of tributary status by the unnamed members of the league, who were at first required to furnish ships.

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[10] Grote, *History of Greece*. See particularly chapter XLV. Admiration for Grote's version must not be interpreted as full agreement with his statements. For his knowledge of the tribute lists, see his note on chapter XLVI. (vol. VI. 52–54, Everyman's Library).

[11] Thuc., I. 96.

[12] *Ibid.*, I. 99.

[13] The word majority (*οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν*) certainly refers not to the whole body of allies, but to that portion of the allied communities which was under obligation to provide ships.

[14] I use the date 466 arbitrarily; but it is quite immaterial to our discussion whether we place the revolt of Naxos in 467 or earlier.

In Plutarch's life of Cimon we have the story repeated with minor additions which show that Plutarch had another version before him.[15] It should be noted here that the accretions are generally regarded with suspicion,[16] on insufficient *a priori* evidence, as I shall try to show. Plutarch says that Cimon was instrumental in persuading the allies who had grown tired of naval service to contribute empty ships and money for the operations of the league. Thus the allies became unwittingly tributaries and slaves. Cimon's mildness was in contrast with the harshness of other Athenian generals who had attempted to enforce naval service by systematic fines and punishments.

Plutarch, with his customary chronological vagueness, leaves us in the dark as to the date of Cimon's proposal, but the story dates itself. From the fact that the problem had become acute when Cimon intervened, it is very unlikely that we can place it before Cimon's success on the Eurymedon, for in that campaign a large portion of the fleet was provided by the allies. There are other reasons too for thinking that the incident was much later. From the story we learn that there had been a period in the affairs of the league when other minds directed Athenian policy toward the allies. This was not the case from about 475 to the ostracism of Cimon in 462. Cimon was then the most influential man in Athens; and for much of this time there was no organized opposition. Certainly in matters connected with the Delian League, Cimon's word must have been law. Consequently during this period there is no place for the incident related by Plutarch.

Not until the ostracism of Cimon was there an opportunity for other generals to use coercive measures against the allies, and during his absence from Athens the allies suffered heavily in the Athenian campaigns. Undoubtedly the disaster in Egypt, the war against Aegina, the battles in Greece, and the creation of a land empire were responsible for the war weariness of which Plutarch speaks. Moreover, a second passage from the life of Cimon indicates that at the time of his last expedition to Cyprus there was discontent among the allies because Athens, by fighting Hellenes in Greece, had abused the power given her for the purpose of liberating and protecting Hellenes in Asia.[17] Cimon's purpose in continuing the war against Persia was to regain lost territory, thereby dedicating the league to the cause for which it had been founded and justifying its continued existence. For such a purpose, the allies, grown weary of helping Athens in Greece, might reasonably be expected to make contributions, either in ships or in money; and Cimon's attitude of conciliation, his care not to offend the susceptibilities of the allies, as described by Plutarch, would undoubtedly make the assumption of tributary status by the allies almost a voluntary matter. Certainly there would have been little friction.

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[15] *Cimon*, 11.

[16] *E.g.*, E. M. Walker, *Cambridge Ancient History*, V. 61; Georg Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III. 195, is a noteworthy exception, for he regards the episode as not at all improbable. He does not try to date it.

[17] *Cimon*, 18.

Furthermore, the lawsuits brought against the allies and the penalties imposed upon them because of failure to take their part in frequent expeditions, the practice superseded when Cimon's suggestion was adopted, are quite what we should expect when Pericles was giving his attention to empire building. In fine, since Cimon was responsible for the reaction favorable to the allies, and since the Persian expedition, designed partially to placate them, was possible only after his return from ostracism, we must infer that Cimon's involuntary absence, by making it impossible for him to use his influence for the allied cities, provided the occasion for coercive measures, and that his return to public life was followed by the conciliatory measures we have been discussing.

At this time the plans to renew the campaign against Persia must have reopened in an acute form the question of ships and men, a question which had lain dormant during the three years of inactivity immediately preceding. Cimon's undertaking called for a large fleet and an indefinite absence from home. One does not wonder then that many cities were willing to shift their responsibilities to Athens, and at the same time, influenced by the tactful conciliation of Cimon, were ready to acknowledge their obligation to support the enterprise by contributions of money.

Thus there is nothing either improbable or inconsistent in the story told by Plutarch, and I believe that the incident of which he speaks should be dated about the year 450 when the league was making preparations for a new campaign against Persia. We scarcely need the tribute lists to confirm this date. They can not be used to disprove it.

We may now ask ourselves what cities entered the league as non-tributary members. We know the names of five only, Chios, Lesbos, Samos, Thasos, and Naxos. Several attempts have been made to catalogue the others,[18] but they need not detain us. The clue to the identity of the cities originally non-tributary is to be found in the events which preceded the formation of the Delian League. For three years the military power of Sparta and the naval forces of the maritime states had been united in a common struggle against Persia. Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale were the fruits of this union, and the serpent column of Delphi, now in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, was erected in commemoration of the victories won. On it were inscribed the names of the members of the Pan-Hellenic league who had shared in the national defense.[19] Not long afterward, when the Spartan commander showed a lack of consideration for the feelings of his allies, the Delian League was formed. In this "bifurcation" of Greece, the Peloponnesian and other mainland states, naturally enough, saw no reason for throwing in their lot with Athens, and commercial rivalry between Athens and Aegina prevented the latter from joining the new league. The southern Cyclades likewise had no part in it. But the remnant of the Pan-Hellenic league felt the danger from Persia more keenly, and they with the recently liberated cities and islands in the eastern Aegean became the backbone of the Delian League, its charter members so to speak.

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[18] *E.g.*, Agricola, *De Aristidis Censu*, Diss., Berlin, 1900.

The island members of the Pan-Hellenic league had fought at Salamis, and undoubtedly most of them had participated in the naval campaigns of the following years. Thus they possessed ships, and both their seamanship and their loyalty had been tested. One can not doubt that this group of charter members in the Delian League agreed to supply ships for the fleet of the newly constituted confederation. How many others undertook similar obligations there is now no means of telling, but the fact that the non-tributary states whose names are known are all islands suggests that few cities of the mainland enjoyed this privilege. Still the presence of Potidaea's name on the serpent column does not allow us to exclude mainland cities arbitrarily.

The partial roll of the charter members of the Delian League inscribed on the Delphian tripod base is as follows:

Ceos
Cythnos
Siphnos
Naxos
Tenos
Potidaea
Chalcis
Eretria
Styra

To this group one name ought to be added, that of Seriphos, for it too fought on the right side at Salamis.[20] I shall now repeat the list, adding the date at which each of these charter members first appears in the tribute lists:

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[19] Conveniently printed in Wilhelm Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. 3, no. 31; *cf.* Thuc., I. 132; Herodotus, IX. 81; Pausanias, X. 13, 9. For a similar monument erected at Olympia, see Pausanias, V. 23, 1.

[20] Herodotus, VIII. 46, 48. In these chapters we find a list of the naval contingents serving at Salamis. For the services of Tenos at Salamis, see VIII. 82. At Plataea contingents from Potidaea, Chalcis, Eretria, and Styra were present (Herodotus, IX. 28).

Ceos 450 [21]
Seriphos 450 [21]
Cythnos 449 [22]
Siphnos 449 [22]
Tenos 449 [22]
Styra 449 [22]
Naxos 448 [23]
Eretria 448 [23]
Chalcis 448 [23]

Potidaea 444 [24]

Only two of the names are found in the records of the first period. Seven make their initial appearance in the second period, and Potidaea seems to have become tributary in the third period. It is extremely unlikely that the absence of this group of eight names from the four lists of the first period is accidental. To one who has worked with the tribute lists our argument, although it is technically *ex silentio,* will present no difficulties, since it is impossible to compile at random a list of tributaries, the greater proportion of which will not be found in the quota lists of any given period. For example, I took every nineteenth name from an alphabetical list of 186 tributaries of the second period. Of the nine names so compiled, seven were found in the lists of the first period. Consequently, we may conclude that the majority of the island states listed above had not paid tribute in the first period. In other words, they were still under obligation to furnish ships and men during most of that time. One can not be certain that the change did not take place for some of them at least in the fourth year, *i.e.,* 450, if, as seems probable, Cimon's campaign should be dated then. Ceos and Seriphos certainly were tributary in 450. Still it is possible that the negotiations with the others followed the Dionysiac festival of 450, when the tribute was paid, and that the results were first apparent in the accounts of the following year.

This is not the place to discuss the problem presented by the presence of Naxos in the list given above,[25] for it must be understood that the list is not intended to be definitive. One or more of the cities included in it may have been tributary before 449, even though the bulk of them were not. It is interesting to note that two other insular communities, the Euboean Hestiaea and the wealthy Andros,

[21] *I. G.,* vol. I.², no. 194; for Ceos, see also *A. J. A.,* XXXII. (1928) 288.

[22] *I. G.,* vol. I.², no. 195.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 196; for Naxos, see *A. J. A.,* XXX. (1926) 140, and our revised text of this list, *A. J. A.,* vol. XXXII. (1928), plate II., facing p. 296.

[24] *I. G.,* vol. I.², no. 200.

[25] Modern writers have assumed that Naxos became tributary after its revolt in 467 (?). Thus it is surprising not to find Naxos in the tribute lists before 448. The question needs further study.

are likewise absent from the records of the first period.[26] In the other districts, there is no such list of absentees, and most of the cities whose names do not appear in the records of the first four years were insignificant. Only two of them, the Ionian Erythrae and the Thracian Aineia, paid more than a talent tribute, and their absence may or may not be accidental.

Thus the tribute lists, as they now stand, enable us to state with considerable probability that the loyal islands which possessed ships at the time of Salamis entered the league on a non-tributary basis and did not commute their obligations until after the treasury had been moved to Athens. The fact that their first appearance in the tribute lists follows close upon Cimon's return to the league fleet as commander suggests that the assessment of 450 should be considered the turning point in the history of the league. It does not follow, however, that the Delian League became the Athenian Empire in this year, for the action of the allies in accepting tributary status was in large measure a voluntary one. Furthermore, Thucydides clearly states that the empire was the result of developments which followed the change of status.[27]

ALLEN BROWN WEST.

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[26] They both appear first in *I. G.*, vol. I.², no. 195. For Hestiaea, see *A. J. A.*, XXX. (1926) 147 ff., and *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVII. (1926), plate VI. (facing p. 66). After Salamis, Andros was besieged unsuccessfully by Themistocles because of the aid its naval contingent had rendered to Persia at Salamis (Herodotus, VIII. 66). It is almost certain that Andros entered the Delian League at the beginning, and the fact that it did not become tributary at the demand of Themistocles (Herodotus, VIII. 111, 121) suggests that it was admitted on a par with its neighbors. It is possible too that Hestiaea received the same privileges as the Euboean towns in our list. The Euboean revolt of 446 now takes on another aspect, it may be noted in passing, for the war against Persia ceased almost as soon as the Euboean cities agreed to provide money in place of ships. Had they waited two years longer, the peace would have automatically put an end to their obligations. But tribute had to be paid even in time of peace, so Athens insisted, and Euboea revolted in protest. Probably the feeling at Potidaea was much the same, although the explosion there was delayed until 432.

[27] Thuc., I. 99.

THE TARIFF AND RECONSTRUCTION

UNDUE emphasis has always been placed upon the purely political phase of Reconstruction. Rhodes and Dunning, the great authorities of the period, saw only constitutional principles and a dispute over the wisdom of rival plans for restoring the Union. Over-emphasis of the Southern problem and the negro question blinded them to the social and economic aspects of the struggle.

In reality, the Reconstruction controversy had two phases: one which concerned the South and its post-war problems, and one which involved social and economic disputes old as the nation itself, in which the Civil War was but an interlude. Many were radicals because of honest conviction concerning the South; others, because they realized that a return of the South to Congress meant a union of South and West which would deprive the growing business interests of the country of the favors that radical rule would insure to them. These radicals felt that if such economic questions were at issue Western radicals would be driven to support Johnson and the conservatives whose economic policies were more to the Western taste. The difficulty was met by a campaign of vituperation and "waving of the bloody shirt" which pushed the economic questions into the background as irrelevant. After November, 1866, the radicals were supreme. When the South did once more secure a voice in government the new economic order of New England radicals had been established beyond danger from agrarian attack.

Among these economic questions that influenced Reconstruction was the tariff. Eastern manufacturers had lived for many years before the Civil War under a revenue tariff in which a united South and West refused to grant "protection" to industry. The withdrawal of Southerners in 1861 made possible the passage of a protective measure. During the war temporary high duties were imposed on imports to offset the heavy war taxes that domestic industry was paying. Moreover, as war-time extravagance was the rule, added protection was easily secured. Besides, while some duties were ad valorem, others were specific, and falling prices after the close of the war further increased the protection provided by specific duties. When the war ended, protectionists realized full well that not only the compensatory war rates but the newly acquired protection would be ended, unless the Southerners could be kept out of Congress. The Southerners were kept out for several years and their states made Republican for several years more by means of negro suffrage and Northern military force. The war taxes were repealed but the compensatory war duties were retained, granting to manufacturers a protection of which they had never dreamed.

The end of the Civil War witnessed the opening of a new economic era, whose industry has been based upon highly protective duties. Protection did not cause the economic development, but it molded its course. Finally, after the new industrial order had depended for years upon a war tariff never repealed, that tariff ceased to be a war tariff and became an integral part of the economic order. Had the conservatives been successful in the election of 1866, the industrial development of the country would have been different, equally great—but different.

During the war, profiteers had been active; legitimate business had made enormous profits. The government had spent money lavishly. Scarcity, created in part by the augmented demands of war and in part by the tariff, had made high prices easily attainable. Not efficiency nor quality, but quantity had counted. As a result manufacturers had adopted extravagant methods, and by the purchase of expensive equipment had expanded their plants beyond all possible peace needs. They had become accustomed to large and easy profits even when methods were inefficient. Cutting off the extra protection of the war period would have forced manufacturers back to efficient methods and normal production; it would have ruined some; it would have brought temporary depression for all during a period of readjustment. There probably would have been little opposition to a retention of the extra protection acquired during the war, but manufacturers actually retained the compensatory duties of war time after the taxes which they offset were repealed, and they even tried to raise rates.

It was almost universally assumed that if Southerners were readmitted to full standing in the Union they would vote solidly for tariff reduction. The question arises whether this would have been the case. Twenty years earlier a strong group of Southern Whigs had favored the Clay tariff. Could their support have been won for high post-war protection? The opinion of Southerners on the tariff is difficult to determine. They were too vitally concerned with regaining political control of their section, salvaging what was left from the economic wreckage all around them, and warding off threatened negro suffrage and Northern military control, to be thinking much about tariffs. Furthermore, while they were still seeking admission from a Northern Congress, only the most foolhardy would have compromised their chances of restoration by opposing the tariff. There would be time for objection after they were safely readmitted. A few like A. H. H. Stuart, representative-elect from Virginia, did urge Southerners to accept the tariff because it would bring peace between the sections.[1]

Professor Cole has pointed out that in 1842 leading Whigs of the South favored protection, but that by 1850 " Whig issues were dead ".[2] While he found that the old Whig elements were seeking to build up Southern industry and were therefore favorable to a tariff, Cole had to depend on city editors for Whig opinion as it was very difficult to get testimony of planters.[3] He concluded, " Sincere protectionist sentiment . . . had doubtless come to be considerably limited in the South [by 1852] and, outside of the border states, it was largely confined to the Whigs of Louisiana ".[4] During the prewar decade ten commercial conventions met in the South to consider means of increasing prosperity. Encouragement of Southern manufacturing was a remedy repeatedly suggested. But no evidence exists of an accompanying interest in a customs wall to develop that hoped-for industry. In fact, an equally popular proposal was the building up of Southern shipping companies and direct, Southern-controlled connections between cotton fields and European factories.[5] Of course no commercial interest ever favored tariff barriers. Besides, whatever the wishes of Southerners before the war, protection after it meant merely added profits for Northern manufacturers. In the absence of Southern capital, there was no hope of building Southern factories except with Northern capital and under Northern management. The last thing Southerners of 1866 desired was to become wage earners for Northerners. They would have supported no policy that would have added economic domination to Northern military and political control. Toombs, a protectionist Whig of the 'forties, was in Reconstruction days a confirmed opponent of the tariff. In 1880 he wrote Stephens: " The tariff ought to have been the leading subject of Democratic agitation for the last four years. The West is as ready for it as the South, from the enormous amount of her exports of her grain and hog-products, and is, always has been, and always [will] be the most valuable ally of sound principles."[6] By methods akin to those used with the Western wool growers, some

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[1] Speech quoted in New York *Tribune* (Semi-Weekly), Apr. 20, 1866.

[2] Arthur C. Cole, *The Whig Party in the South*, pp. 101–102, 221.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 206–211.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 221.

[5] Evidence gathered by E. H. Roseboom and H. Easterby on the Southern Commercial Conventions for a Harvard Seminar in 1922.

[6] R. Toombs to A. H. Stephens, Mar. 25, 1880, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1911, II. 740.

Southern whites might have been induced to support a tariff. But under the conditions of 1866, the number could not have been large. Contemporary opinion in any case seems to have been that the South would use its restored power to oppose the Northern tariff.

Northeastern radicals were the leading protectionists. One of the underlying causes of their radicalism was dread of tariff reduction. Among them danger to protection was an effective argument against Johnson's policy. For example, Brewer of Newport wrote Sumner:

> In a selfish point of view, free suffrage to the Blacks is desirable. Without their support, Southerners will certainly again unite,—and there is too much reason to fear successfully, with the "Democrats" of the North, and the long train of evils sure to follow their rule is fearful to contemplate . . . a great reduction of the Tariff doing away with its protective features—perhaps Free Trade to culminate with *Repudiation,* —for neither Southerners nor Northern *Democrats* have any bonds or many greenbacks,—and how sweet and complete will be the revenge of the former if they can ruin the North by Free-Trade and repudiation.[7]

New England radicals especially were determined never to allow the South to reënter the Union as long as New England tariff schemes might thereby be endangered. Wendell Phillips insisted[8] that Southerners should not be readmitted until the North had made over "that South in its likeness, till South Carolina gravitates by natural tendency to New England", or as Seymour paraphrased it,[9] "until their ideas of business, industry, money making, spindles and looms were in accord with those of Massachusetts". Radicals even tried to repeal the constitutional prohibition of taxes on exports, in order that they might gain a further advantage over foreign competitors by keeping a cheap cotton supply in the country through a tax on its export.[10] When orators and newspapers spoke of the danger to the Union from a return of Southerners to Washington, protectionists understood that among the chief elements of danger was the threat of tariff reduction. But Western sensibilities made it impossible for campaign speakers or a sheet like the *Tribune* too openly to avow this motive for radicalism.

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[7] July 7, 1865, Sumner MSS. (in the Widener Library of Harvard University), vol. LXXIV. The Stevens MSS. (in Library of Congress) and Sumner MSS. give ample evidence that in many radical minds the danger to the government from unrepentant rebels who sought to overthrow it was the certainty of tariff reduction.

[8] Speech at Cooper Institute, New York *Tribune,* Oct. 26, 1866.

[9] Speech at Cooper Institute, New York *Herald,* Oct. 31, 1866.

[10] Blaine proposed an amendment of this kind in 1864 and Stevens in 1865, but neither was successful. *Congressional Globe,* 38 cong., 1st sess., p. 1261; and 39 cong., 1st sess., p. 10.

Danger of a combination between the South and West was recognized. Ex-Congressman Conway, Kansas anti-slavery leader who went to Richmond after the war to seek his fortune, wrote Sumner that giving the negro the vote would not help his cause, for the whites would control the negro. " Nobody can doubt ", he added, " that they will cast a Southern vote—a sectional Southern vote; which through a Northern alliance—say for free trade or anti-protection if you please—will bring them again into power." [11]

In an editorial headed " The Tariff ", *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of New York declared:

> It cannot certainly be the purpose of the Manufacturing States to provoke such a consolidation [of the South and West] which, should it ever be effected, would rapidly and irresistibly revolutionize our whole commercial system; and it is therefore very important that the manufacturing States themselves, should take timely warning of the perils which they are certain to incur by an over-large desire on the part of their representatives, to push the principle of protection beyond the limits at which it has been fixed for some years past. . . . The utmost judgment is required . . . to avoid pushing a given advantage so far as to unite an overwhelming reaction. . . . A brief retrospect of the part played by the Western States in the late civil war, must satisfy every dispassionate observer that the practical control of our political affairs is destined at no distant date to pass into the hands of the Western people. When the Southern States shall return to their position in the Union as coequal participators . . . the agricultural interests . . . especially when combined with [the] commercial interests, will be entirely irresistible. [This will be the] formidable combination of the future. . . . Manufacturers whose industries . . . yield a present profit . . . are directly concerned. . . . It should be their instant effort to moderate the extreme zeal of those advocates of their interests who threaten to jeopardize protection itself by urging it onward into practical prohibition.[12]

Governor Andrew of Massachusetts said the Southern policy was " to impose a greatly reduced duty on European manufacturers . . . with the intent to disintegrate the free States, to break down American manufactures, discourage skilled, intelligent labor, and reduce the laboring classes, by measures alike audacious and insidious, to the dependence held by the slave-power appropriate for the masses of men ".[13] The *Tribune* felt that Southern support of a tariff would furnish the " plan for the truest, best, and only reconstruction of the South and restoration of the Union ". A return of the South without safeguards for the tariff, the *Tribune* feared. " A blended

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[11] Jan. 16, 1866, Sumner MSS., vol. LXXVI.

[12] *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* III. 3 (July 7, 1866).

[13] Gov. John A. Andrew, *Address of His Excellency to the Two Branches of the Legislature of Massachusetts, Jan. 6, 1865,* p. 95.

Copperhead and Rebel ascendency", it said, "thinly veneered with office-holding and office-seeking Unionism, could not help assailing the National Debt, disturbing the safeguards of our National Industry, and many other things equally provocative of resistance."[14] Caution was required on the part of a sheet like the *Tribune* that was read in all sections of the North. But even the *Tribune* declared:

> In the . . . traitorous section of Northern politics, it is consistent for Americans to advocate and plot with foreigners British Free Trade. The cotton-planters were educated by Calhoun to the policy of keeping the Yankees from manufacturing, and confining them to raising cheap food for their slaves. The failure of their Rebellion has not softened the temper of this education. The reconstructed South would vote solid to destroy the wealth-producing industry of the Loyal States. And their unprincipled slaves in the "copper mines" would lick their shoes while they voted with them.[15]

Tariff fears of the Northeast were recognized in other sections of the country. From Illinois one of the "rising generation" wrote Stevens that he felt justified in the belief "that the representatives from the late insurrectary-states, have an understanding that when they are admitted to seats in congress; they will raise the standard of 'absolute-free-trade'; bring financial ruin upon the country; and by this means subvert the government and compel the north to permit them to withdraw from the union '.[16] George Yeaman, an anti-slavery Unionist ex-Congressman from Kentucky then minister at Copenhagen, wrote McCulloch that in keeping the Southerners out from fear that if readmitted they would vote for free trade "the manufacturers and public men of New England are pursuing a hazardous course ".[17] In its analysis of the election, the Memphis *Commercial and Argus*[18] explained: "With these appeals to the ignorant and fanatical was the still stronger element of associated wealth in the immense capital invested in manufactures, whose power to extort hundreds of millions of dollars annually from the people . . . through the iniquitous provisions of a protective tariff depends upon the perpetuation of radical ascendancy."

Political opinion was also influenced by changing gold premiums and their important effect upon prices. Beside the fluctuations caused by speculations in gold and by expansion and contraction of the currency, the constant floating of loans abroad during this period caused incessant price movements in international commodities. Contemporaries realized that fluctuating gold premiums had an effect upon the prices of international trade, and hence also upon the profits of men who sold in competition with imported goods. Factory owners usually urged both contraction of the currency and increases in the tariff. The *Tribune,* for instance, speaking for industry repeatedly urged a resumption of specie payments which it said would reduce the nominal values and thereby decrease imports.[19]

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[14] New York *Tribune* (Semi-Weekly), Feb. 23, Apr. 20, Oct. 5, 1866.

[15] New York *Tribune* (Semi-Weekly), Apr. 3, 1866.

[16] Apr. 18, 1866, Stevens MSS., vol. VII.

[17] Dec. 27, 1866, McCulloch MSS. (in Library of Congress), vol. III.

[18] Nov. 8, 1866, quoted in the New York *Herald*, Nov. 13, 1866.

Recent studies of international prices have shown that an important connection did exist between changing premiums on gold and prices exporters and importers could get for their goods.[20] Graham shows that the constant borrowing in the period from 1862 to 1873 produced several tendencies: a fall in the price of gold measured in paper, a fall in the paper prices of exported commodities, a lowered paper cost of imported commodities, and a relative fall of all three items in comparison with the general price level. The effect of this deflation was that exporting houses suffered, since manufacturers tended to cultivate the more favorable home market instead of sending products abroad. A further effect was a tendency for imports to increase because of the relatively lower paper price of imported goods. This in turn effected a reduction of protection if the customs rates remained constant. The manufacturers were actually affected, therefore, by the movement in gold prices. What they could not see was that borrowing money for further contraction would only increase this tendency, and hence their need for further increases in the tariff and the necessity of keeping the South out until a period of repayment of loans should arrive. In any case, the manufacturer did have a high tariff to protect him.

It was the farmer during this period of falling paper prices of exports who suffered most keenly after the extraordinary war demands ceased, since he was dependent upon world prices, whereas the manufacturer still relied primarily upon the home market and could protect that by tariffs. Neither the farmer nor the manufacturer realized the importance of these factors, but modern theories of international price tendencies substantiate the instinctive feeling of both, and help explain the political importance of the tariff to the manufacturer, and of reduction of the tariff to the farmer who needed to offset in goods he bought the low price he received for goods he sold.

Circumstances, however, played into the hands of the manufacturers. The Western wool grower was in a peculiar position. He had overestimated the effect of the reduced cotton supply, and he failed to realize that increased wool production in other parts of the world was more than commensurate with the increased demand. Farmer-like he figured prices in inflated currency values and exaggerated the profitableness of wool growing. Like every one else he had expanded his business unreasonably during the war. In cold reality, only the tremendous demand of the war had prevented his being ruined in an unfavorable world market. Yet many farmers still believed in 1866 that the future possibilities of wool growing were limitless. These men would support a tariff that included increased profits on their wool. Many, on the other hand, had premonitions of the disaster that we know was staring sheep raisers in the face. In 1867 and 1868 prices of wool fell and many sheep were slaughtered for mutton in spite of the new duty on wool. Only the Wool and Woolens Act prevented a terrific crash.[21] Hayes claimed that the tariff bill of 1866, tabled in the Senate, was passed in the House "mainly through the popularity of the wool and woolens section".[22] In the sheep states, then, particularly Ohio and Michigan, there was a counterbalancing factor that offset the normal unpopularity of the radical program.

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[19] New York *Tribune* (Semi-Weekly), May 22, June 5, June 22, 1866.

[20] F. W. Taussig, "International Trade under Depreciated Paper", *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* XXXI. (1917) 380 ff.; F. D. Graham, "International Trade under Depreciated Paper: the United States, 1862–1879", *ibid.,* XXXVI. (1922) 220 ff.; J. W. Angell, *The Theory of International Prices,* pp. 160–167.

Eastern radicals were shrewd enough to turn this wool interest to their advantage. In September, 1865, the National Association of Wool Manufacturers was organized, under the guiding spirit of John L. Hayes who became the secretary and chief lobbyist. This was the first great business interest to organize, and one of its chief purposes was to secure favorable tariff legislation. Hayes understood the situation. He felt that the South would certainly oppose protection once she returned. He knew the anti-tariff feeling of the West. He saw that the East alone could never save protection. In his speech at the first meeting of the association, he struck to the very heart of the problem. "There can be no reliance", he warned, "upon a permanent friendly legislation for both interests unless the wool growers are satisfied. Our object is not to reach Congress, but to convince the farmers of the West, who will inevitably control the legislation of this country, of the absolute identity of our interests." [23]

At Hayes's suggestion, a joint meeting of wool manufacturers and wool growers assembled at Syracuse, New York, in December, 1865.[24] There Hayes convinced the sheep raisers, as he had already persuaded the manufacturers, that the future prosperity of both interests depended upon their united demand for a high tariff on both wool and woolens. The convention agreed upon the principle that wool should have high protection, and woolens a duty sufficiently higher to allow the manufacturers to pay the extra price for wool that the tariff would create and still have protection on their woolens. Then in a struggle between the two interests over the apportionment of protection, Hayes and his better organized manufacturers managed to secure a duty on woolens that covered the proposed duty on wool, the old duty on woolens, and new protection all combined. Both interests did finally agree, and then in coöperation pushed their schedule through to final success.

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[21] For full discussion see H. K. Beale, "The Decision of Reconstruction", MS. doctoral dissertation in Widener Library, pp. 351–364.

[22] U. S. Department of Agriculture, "Special Report on the History and Present Condition of the Sheep Industry of the United States", *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 52 cong., 2nd sess., no. 105, pp. 551–561.

[23] Hayes, *Speech before the First Annual Meeting of National Association of Wool Growers*, Sept. 6, 1865, p. 63.

Hayes demonstrated what a well-organized lobby could do. Through it, the wool men wrote their Syracuse schedule into the tariff bill of 1866.[25] The wool manufacturers were glad to work with the other protective interests as long as the general tariff bill seemed likely to pass. But Hayes realized that the Western farmer would more willingly support a wool schedule alone than a general tariff. For this reason Bingham introduced the wool and woolens schedule of the Syracuse meeting as a separate bill,[26] and the House passed it.[27] It was allowed to lie on the Senate table, until the general bill failed in 1867, when it was called up by John Sherman [28] to become the Wool and Woolens Act of 1867.[29] Though this wool lobby served both growers and manufacturers, it was the latter who supported it. In fact Hayes commented that since "no agent of the wool growers was present, facts and arguments in favor of increased duties on wool were supplied, even to the wool growing districts of the West".[30]

Johnson's veto was feared, but the same careful management persuaded him to sign the bill. Hayes reported:

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[24] See *Report of the Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates from the National Association of Wool Manufacturers and from the Several Organizations of the Wool Growers of the United States, at Syracuse, New York, Dec. 13, 1865.*

[25] *Joint Report of the Executive Committee of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, and the Executive Committee of the National Wool-Growers' Association, Addressed to the United States Revenue Commission, Feb. 9, 1866.*

[26] *Congressional Globe*, 39 cong., 1st sess., p. 4046.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 4253. The bill itself is printed here.

[28] Mar. 1, 1867, *ibid.*, 39 cong., 2nd sess., p. 1924.

[29] It passed the Senate Mar. 2, 1867, 31–12, *ibid.*, p. 1958.

[30] Hayes, *Report of Second Annual Meeting of National Association of Wool Manufacturers, Oct. 3, 1866.*

> Three anxious hours were passed by the friends of the bill, in waiting near the room in the Capitol where the President sat with his Cabinet, signing bills, during the last moments of the session. Hour after hour passed. Such earnest men as Delano and Bingham, from Ohio, were apprised of danger, and hurried from the House to the President's room. These influences, aided by the advice of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the Attorney General, a citizen of the leading wool-growing State, Ohio, prevailed; and, at a moment before the hour of twelve by the President's watch, the bill received the President's signature.[31]

The story of this National Association of Wool Manufacturers is important here not because it is an early example of the successfully organized business lobby, but because it figured significantly in the election of 1866. In that campaign the tariff question would have injured the radicals in the West in spite of the conservative failure to utilize it, had not this clever manoeuvre won the support of the Western wool grower.

Sheep owners still opposed protection in the abstract, but accepted this particular tariff because it promised to aid them personally. H. S. Randall[32] voiced a general sentiment when he declared:

> I have never been friendly to the enactment of *high* tariffs *for the purpose* of protecting industry. But the exigencies of our government will, in future, demand a high tariff for revenue purposes only; and in adjusting the degree of incidental protection which it must necessarily afford to American industry, we have a right to demand—1st, That the woolen interest shall be protected equally with other interests of no greater importance; and, 2nd, That the producer of wool shall be protected equally with the manufacturer of wool.[33]

This was a period, too, of rapid expansion of industry into the West. Vast lumber interests, the newly opened iron mines of the Northwest, iron works, steel mills just beginning to use the new Bessemer process, and other types of manufactories were beginning to give growing groups in the West, especially in Michigan and Ohio, an interest in tariffs. The West was still an agricultural region, but it required an imagination no more highly developed than that of the average Westerner to picture a great future for manufacturing interests whose seeds had already been planted in scattered localities. Amid the shouting of 1866, nascent industrialism played a quiet, unperceived rôle.[34] It silenced opposition to the radicals in some regions which their tariff views would otherwise have alienated. Still, even with the wool men, benefit from the tariff schedule only sugar-coated a bitter tariff pill that as farmers and Westerners they would gladly have declined to swallow.

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[31] *Third Annual Report of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, Oct. 2, 1867*, p. 13.

[32] It was to Randall as president of the New York wool growers that Hayes addressed his call for the Syracuse conference of wool growers and manufacturers.

[33] "Address to Ohio Wool Growers", Ohio State Board of Agriculture, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, 1863, p. 356.

[34] See H. K. Beale, *op. cit.*, pp. 365–371.

In spite of claims of the radicals that the tariff was not an issue in 1866, vigorous protests against their protective policy poured in from the agricultural Northwest.[35] In Indiana a part of the Democratic strength during the war had been based upon opposition to the "Yankee tariff".[36] Leaders like Hendricks had inveighed against New England's selfishness which used the war to get rich at the expense of Western farmers. In the spring of 1866 Western opposition to protectionism began to organize in agricultural associations and Johnson clubs.[37] Thomas Ewing, a pre-war protectionist of Ohio, felt that no industry which had not been able to establish itself under the high protection of the past four years ought to be protected. He was certain that no party could sustain itself on higher rates, since it was "the overburdened community" that must pay.[38] "The high pressure for an extreme and almost prohibitory tariff" was rapidly driving Grimes of Iowa "into free trade".[39] Washburne, who opposed protection, predicted in 1865 that the tariff question would "resume its former importance" and again "divide parties". His friend Burchard, a member of the Illinois legislature, later a Republican Congressman, wrote that though he had always been a protectionist, consideration of what was for the interest of Illinois and the Western agricultural states had changed his view.[40] Charles

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[35] See Clarence L. Miller, "Attitude of the Northwest toward the Tariff, 1864–1883", unpublished M.A. thesis at the University of Chicago. Miller ascribes this opposition to the fact that it took money from Westerners' pockets to make the East richer, the fact that the shutting out of foreign goods removed the only means Europe had of paying for Western agricultural products, and the fact that the duty on iron, by doubling the cost of building, decreased the number of railroads, and increased freight rates, to the detriment of the Western farmer.

[36] J. A. Woodburn, "Party Politics in Indiana during the Civil War", American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1902, p. 238.

[37] *E.g.,* the Johnson Club of Nevada City, Mo., which sent Johnson a resolution that the tariff was unjust—oppressive to the West, and South, and to the poor man, June 7, 1866, Johnson MSS. (in Library of Congress), vol. XCV.

[38] T. Ewing to E. J. Williams, Sept. 6, 1865, Ewing MSS. (in Library of Congress), "Letter-book".

[39] Welles MS. Diary (in Library of Congress), June 27, 1866; vol. II. 542 in printed version.

[40] "Upon every pound of iron used", he wrote, "the farmer must pay a bonus to the owner of the mines and manufactories of other states. He must sell, or pay the price of one bushel of oats, *to pay the extra cost imposed by the tariff,* when he has a horse shod 'all around'. . . . Illinois must be an agricultural state . . 50,000,000 bushels of wheat are shipped as grain or flour from Chicago annually . . . let us get in exchange for it as cheaply as we can the products of other regions

Ray, a clever politician formerly editor of the Chicago *Tribune*, congratulated Trumbull on his opposition to the tariff, and added:

> We are being consumed by the good of New England and Pennsylvania. If matters are not regulated and on a fairer and juster principle, the West will be badly injured before five years. . . . The Protectionists are very bitter as all men are whose profits are threatened, and very harmful as all men are who have great amounts of money and are willing to use it. . . . The remedy for the evils of which I complain will not be found until the process of robbing by law becomes plain to the farmers whose money is now so profusely poured into the capacious pockets of the manufacturer.[41]

Horace White of the Chicago *Tribune*, though a strong radical, opposed the party's protective tendencies. He wrote Washburne:

> [the Internal Revenue Commission] propose to give the American manufacturer a bounty of five cents per pound for exporting, which bounty has to be paid by you and me. [Then] they propose to put a tariff of five cents a pound on all imported cotton goods which tariff you and I and all consumers have to pay. But it does not end here, for this five cents a pound tariff will operate to raise the price of all domestic cotton goods five cents a pound in addition to the five cents tax on raw cotton, and of this extra five cents the government will get nothing, while the people will be paying it all the time. Have we killed King Cotton to set up King Sheeting?[42]

In June the Chicago *Tribune* wrote: "We tell these gentlemen", the manufacturers of the East, "that they are traveling to destruction as fast as they can go. They are cutting open the goose to get all the golden eggs at once. They are legislating the Government funds into their pockets too rapidly for the permanence of the system."[43] Again: "The increased rates of duties (except possibly on wool) are wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, and if adopted will work injury to revenue and to public interest. The present tariff is high enough. . . . On increase one man would make his thousands, while 50 would lose their hundreds."[44] Two days later: "The new tariff Bill . . . is a financial monstrosity, the like of which is rarely seen in any age or clime. . . . Turn which way we will, a new mountain of taxation arises before us—taxation avowedly *not* to put money into the National treasury but to keep it out."[45] Finally: "Western

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and if the English Importer will sell us in New York more iron or other commodities for it, than the manufacturers of the Eastern States let us buy of him." (Italics are Burchard's) Nov. 16, 1865, Washburne MSS. (in Library of Congress), vol. XCIII.

[41] Feb. 2, 1866, Trumbull MSS. (in Library of Congress), vol. LXIII.

[42] Jan. 30, 1866, Washburne MSS. (in Library of Congress), vol. LIII.

[43] Chicago *Tribune*, June 22, 1866.

[44] *Ibid.*, June 26, 1866.

[45] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1866

members . . . are in favor of a tariff that will yield the largest amount of revenue and at the same time afford adequate protection to American manufacturers. . . . The existing tariff does both . . . the West favors it. On the other hand the Eastern members are clamoring for a prohibitory tariff that will cut off all importations and reduce the revenue from imports from forty to seventy millions of dollars per annum. This is the issue."[46]

Even in the East there was some opposition to the tariff. Bennett and the New York *Herald* fought it consistently;[47] Parke Godwin and the *Evening Post* opposed it; Godkin and the *Nation* favored free trade. Laboring men where their votes were not controlled by employers objected to protection. Merchants fought it. Gay of the *Tribune* wrote Sumner[48] that a desire for free trade was affecting the *Post's* attitude toward Reconstruction and the blacks. "The devil has got into it", he said, "and it is now far more mischievous than the most virulent of the Copperhead papers." In 1865 a Free Trade League was organized in New York with George Bancroft, Francis Lieber, William Cullen Bryant, Parke Godwin, Cyrus W. Field, and J. A. Roosevelt among the founders.[49] In July, 1866, the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York sent Congress this remonstrance[50] against the proposed tariff:

> In the first place the title of the bill is misleading, the enhanced duties it proposes being in many cases so high that they must prove prohibitive. Its adoption could not fail to diminish rather than to increase the revenues from imports . . . it seems impolitic to do so coincident with the abandonment of many of the existing sources of internal revenue. . . . But your remonstrants object to the measure on other and broader grounds. They believe its adoption would prove injurious to commerce by diverting it from its established channels, by lessening our foreign trade and by leaving our large mercantile marine without adequate or profitable employment. It would mar the prosperity of agriculture by increasing the cost of its supplies without enhancing

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[46] *Ibid.*, July 3, 1866.

[47] To its thousands of subscribers it sent out such editorials as this: "The manufacturers will get a higher price for their goods, almost anything they choose to ask. . . . But who pays for all this? The farmers of the West and North, the planters, the mechanics, laborers, and all the industrial classes. They pay for it in enormous high prices, and all to enrich a bloated monopoly. The masses are taxed for the benefit of a few . . . not to support the government . . . but to increase the profits of a few manufacturers and iron and coal capitalists in New England and Pennsylvania. It is the most invidious, partial and infamous legislation ever known in the history of this country." July 3 and 12, 1866.

[48] Mar. 1, 1866, Sumner MSS., vol. LXXVII.

[49] "Printed Invitation", Feb. 11, 1865, Sumner MSS., vol. LXXIII.

[50] "Action of the New York Chamber of Commerce against the Proposed Tariff", (printed) John Sherman MSS. (in Library of Congress), vol. CVI., July 5, 1866.

> the prices of its products, which are governed, as are those of all exportable commodities, by the foreign market value. It would injure mechanics by increasing the cost of living, without enhancing wages, and finally, through its exorbitant production, it would endanger the permanent prosperity of the manufacturing interests itself, which it specially intended to protect and foster. It proposes to increase that production by adding from ten to fifty per cent. to the high rates of thirty at the moment when the amended internal revenue laws relieve that interest from a heavy excise tax. The joint effect of the two measures would be to confer on that interest a rate of protection, ranging from fifty to one hundred per cent.; and this protection will be absolute with the excise taxes annulled, and the premium on exchange and on gold to pay duties, compensating the manufacturers for the adverse effects of a depreciated currency; this degree of protection being at least twice as large as that interest has hitherto enjoyed under the revenue laws most favorable to-day, we may expect to see it engender our home competition, which will ultimately prove fatal to its prosperity. We may also expect to see the people soon become so restive under this unwarrantable boon conferred on a favored interest, as to demand its repeal, and the substitute of a tariff strictly grounded on the principle of revenue. This, combined with the perils of home competition, would be liable to involve the manufacturing interest of our country in general bankruptcy.

Even in New England anti-tariff men could be found.[51]

In the spring and summer of 1866 Congress was considering a tariff bill which provided increased rates. Various interests cried for special favor. Advocates of the old system of tariff for revenue only attacked each increase. But every interested member acquiesced in the gains of " the other fellow " provided he was allowed his share, too. At last the bill, overloaded with augmented duties, passed the House and reached the Senate. The Senate postponed it until after the fall elections.

When the Senators turned to further consideration of the bill in the following session, they were confronted by an alternative draft prepared by David A. Wells,[52] and recommended by Secretary McCulloch. The Wells bill [53] approached the problem in a new spirit: it equalized inconsistencies in the existing Act of 1864; it reduced the duties on certain raw materials; it maintained duties on manufactured goods at about the old rate; all this provided not reduction, but reform much needed after five years of scrambling for special favor. The protected interests wanted the House bill, but were willing to accept Wells's offer since even this provided high protection.[54] After a long discussion the Wells bill somewhat modified was adopted in the Senate. Protectionists in the House were not satisfied, but as the end of the session was near, under the lead of Morrill and Stevens, they rallied to its support. But Western Republicans would not support high protection even under party pressure. Garfield appealed to party loyalty and asked members of the Union party not to "aid our enemies in tying the hands of the House".[55] Western distaste for protection was, however, stronger than party loyalty. In order to pass the bill before March 4, Morrill moved a suspension of the rules. On the test vote,[56] though they secured a majority of 106 to 64, the protectionists failed to secure the necessary two-thirds. Two amendments were made adding duties on wool and foodstuffs as a bait for Western support. Then Stevens again moved suspension of the rules. But even the powerful whip of Stevens failed; the vote was less favorable than before.[57]

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[51] *E.g.*, Pratt, a Republican leader of Connecticut who later deserted Johnson, thought the Tariff Bill " perfectly damnable ". J. Pratt to G. Welles, July 19, 1866, Welles MSS., vol. LXI.

[52] Special Commissioner of the Revenue.

[53] *Senate Executive Documents*, 39 cong., 2nd sess., no. 2. See Taussig's discussion, *Tariff History of the United States*, 7th ed., pp. 175–178.

The distribution of votes was significant. Had there been no wool clause the count would have been more striking, but in spite of the wool duty, the vote indicates low tariff sentiment in the Northwest and Eastern border states, and high protectionism in the Northeast. The House gave the radical tariff bill ninety-five ayes and fifty-two nays.[58] Of the ayes, four were in the Far West,[59] sixty-three in the Northeast,[60] and only twenty-eight in the Northwest;[61] of these twenty-eight, nineteen were from the sheep states of Ohio and Michigan. New England, New York, and Pennsylvania voted 58–5 for the bill, the other four Northeastern states[62] 5–8 against it. The Northwest stood 28–39 against it; the Northwest, aside from the two great sheep growing and manufacturing states of Ohio and Michigan, 9–36 against it. Not one vote was cast against the bill in all New England; not one vote for it in Delaware, Indiana, or Illinois.

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[54] Wells later opposed high protection, but either at this time had not been converted, or else as a practical man felt the futility of seeking reduction until the South returned.

[55] *Congressional Globe,* 39 cong., 2nd sess., p. 1657.

[56] *Ibid.,* p. 1658.

[57] It was 102–69. *Ibid.,* p. 1659.

[58] July 10, 1866, *ibid.,* 39 cong., 1st sess., p. 3725.

[59] The "Far West" embraced Oregon with many New England settlers, California, and the radical 'war baby', Nevada, admitted to give two senatorial votes to the radicals.

[60] "Northeast" is here used to include New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware.

[61] "Northwest" is used to include the Old Northwest, Minnesota, Iowa, and the Western border states of Kentucky, Missouri, and Kansas.

[62] New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia.

Had the full Southern representation been admitted enhanced by the abolition of the three-fifths rule, the total vote [63] instead of 95–52 for it, might have been 95–125 against the tariff, or under the old three-fifths rule for counting negroes, 95–110. More significant still, with only the representation provided under the Fourteenth Amendment in case the negro did not vote, the South could still have turned a 95–52 tariff victory into a tie.

A similar situation obtained when Stevens tried to force a suspension of the rules to pass the milder tariff of February, 1867.[64] In this case the vote was 102–69. Of the ayes, five were in the Far West, sixty-four in the Northeast, and thirty-one in the Northwest; of those thirty-one, nineteen were again in Ohio and Michigan. In New England, New York, and Pennsylvania taken together, the vote was this time 58–15, with two negative votes from Massachusetts and ten from New York; in the other states of the Northeast [65] it was 6–7 against the bill. The Northwest voted 31–41 against it, or excepting Ohio and Michigan, 12–37. Had full Southern representation been present with the Southerners untrammeled and in control of their own local governments, the measure might have been defeated, 102–142, and under the three-fifths rule, 102–127. Even the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment might have turned a 102–69 majority into a 102–112 defeat. In the Senate the vote was 27–10 for the tariff of 1867.[66] Of the ayes, four were in the Far West, sixteen in the Northeast, and only seven in the Northwest; of this seven, four were from Ohio and Michigan, one from Illinois, one from Wisconsin, and one from Minnesota. Not a single negative vote was cast by the whole Northeast. Not an affirmative vote was cast by Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Iowa, or Kansas. Had the South been back in Congress instead of winning a 27–10 victory, the radical tariff bill might have suffered a 27–30 defeat.

On the wool and woolens bill which passed 31–12, the Senate vote was strikingly different.[67] This time instead of 16–0, the vote of the Northeast was 12–7, with both Massachusetts senators, Sprague of Rhode Island, and Buckalew of Pennsylvania opposed to the measure. Instead of opposing it 7–8, the Northwest supported the wool and woolens bill by a 14–3 vote, Kentucky, Missouri, and Indiana casting the only three votes against it. In these votes are found the key to the factor that enabled the radicals to suppress the tariff issue, ample evidence of the potential force of the tariff as a campaign issue had the conservatives used it, and clear explanation of the radical determination not to let Southerners return to Congress.

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[63] The conjectural votes are compiled from the *Census* of 1870, and the *Congressional Directory.*

[64] Feb. 28, 1867, *Congressional Globe,* 39 cong., 2nd sess., p. 1659.

[65] New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia.

[66] Jan. 31, 1867, *ibid.,* p. 931.

[67] Mar. 2, 1867, *ibid.,* p. 1958. In the House the vote was not recorded.

During the war the country had acquiesced in the tariff as necessary to secure victory. S. S. Cox, the one man in Congress with the temerity to oppose it, had won the stigma of Copperheadism.[68] After the war people were thoroughly imbued with the idea that a high tariff was essential to the payment of the war debt. For this reason many who in principle opposed protection and in practice suffered from it, resigned themselves to it as inevitable, merely attempting to secure some of its benefits. T. C. Jones, for instance, told Ohio farmers that the need of revenue would make a tariff necessary for years, and urged them to present a "consistent and solid front" in demanding as much protection for the farm as for the factory.[69] The radicals were glad to offer protection on foodstuffs, since the amount imported was negligible. Neither manufacturer nor farmer was much affected, but the farmer could feel that he was somehow benefiting. About this time, too, a chance factor aided the protectionist. The Western farmer felt that the only serious competitor he faced was the wheat grower of Canada. For eleven years Canadian grain had been free from duty under a Canadian reciprocity treaty.[70] As the end of the war approached, the farmer who no longer had armies to feed, and who still paid war taxes and inflated prices for all that he bought, began to regard this treaty as a menace. Notice of abrogation was therefore given, and the treaty expired in February, 1866. Henceforth the Northwestern wheat farmer felt he had something to gain from a duty on wheat. He opposed protection in principle, but the new customs barrier between him and Canada blunted the edge of his opposition.[71]

But Western opposition to protection was only dulled. Since most Westerners were still anti-protectionist from interest and inborn prejudices, the tariff was a potential force in the impending political battle. Had Johnson brought the tariff forward in the early phases of the campaign, and staunchly opposed protection as his political training would have inclined him to do, and as advisers like McCulloch urged, he might have won the election. Had the Philadelphia Convention drawn up a platform with a tariff reduction plank in it, had it pointed out that safe-guarding a high tariff was a large factor in radical opposition to restoration, it could have thrown a bomb into the radical camp, for the Eastern wing of the party could not have defended protection without alienating Western followers. Yet not to have defended it, would have been to relinquish before the fight, the choicest fruit of victory. The opportunity to create this dilemma was neglected.

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[68] *E.g.*, *Congressional Globe*, 38 cong., 1st sess., p. 2675.

[69] Ohio State Board of Agriculture, *Twenty-first Annual Report*, 1866, p. 77.

[70] Chalfant Robinson, *History of Two Reciprocity Treaties*.

[71] Economists might question whether this new barrier actually helped the farmer, but he felt it did, and consequently the psychological effect was the same whether he benefited or not.

Johnson's shrewdest supporters tried to emphasize the tariff factor. Ex-Governor Seymour, for instance, in a speech at Cooper Institute said:

> [The House bill] will fall heavily upon the commercial and farming interests of our country. It will harm this great city. It will lengthen the hours of labor, and will scant the food and clothing of the poor; but who hears of this amid the howlings of sectional rage? . . . This question of tariffs and taxation, and not the negro question keeps our country divided. . . . The men of New York [are] called upon to keep out the Southern members, because if they [were] admitted they would vote to uphold your commercial greatness and the interests of Western agricultural States.[72]

But other counsel prevailed. In fact, conservative determination not to do anything until the South was readmitted, actually helped the radicals push the tariff into the background.

Northwestern radicals realized both the importance of the tariff issue and the strong opposition to protection among some of their constituents. They handled the situation admirably. In the West, they dodged the tariff as irrelevant to the campaign. When they awoke to its dangerous potentialities in the election, the pending tariff bill was quickly tabled. The *Herald* said it "died of party apprehension"[73] because in the Northwest "even the Radicals" began to understand that "that which is clear profit in the way of tariff protection to the New England and Pennsylvania manufacturers and importers with heavy stocks on hand, is dead loss to the great West".[74]

Fear of the political consequences of the bill was general. Horace White of the Chicago *Tribune* wrote to Senator Trumbull:

> Would not it be well to get that fatal tariff bill postponed, smothered, or in some way put out of sight when it comes to the Senate? There is absolutely no difference of opinion about it here—protectionists and free traders both agreeing in considering it a bill of abominations. The only class who favor it are those who have stocks of goods on hand—a very small class numerically. Mr. Medill, the oracle of the Protectionists in the West, has written the most pressing letters to his fellow Protectionists in the House telling them that the bill must be

[72] New York *Herald*, Oct. 31, 1866.

[73] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1866.

[74] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1866.

> killed, or both Protectionism and Republicanism will be killed in Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. I have written as strongly as possible on this subject to Senators Fessenden and Wilson.[75]

John L. Hayes, woolens lobbyist, said: "The postponement of the bill . . . by votes of Senators known to be generally favorable to a protective policy, was undoubtedly due to national considerations believed to be more important than any industrial necessities." [76] Some of the strongest protectionists urged postponement of a bill that gave the highest protection the country had ever seen.[77] It might have failed. What radical leaders feared was its passage just before the election. On this issue, a veto could not have been sustained, and the bill would have furnished the conservatives a weapon ready made.

The radical strength lay in being able to use the tariff in the East where it was patently a stake in the struggle, and to avoid it in the West where, despite the new interests, protection was generally unpopular. A clear-cut tariff issue with public and constant iteration in the West that a desire to maintain the protective system was an important cause of radical opposition to Johnson's Southern policy, would have split the radical party and won back many Western radicals to conservatism. Through a skillfully handled campaign of claptrap and vituperation, the radicals escaped from this danger, and kept the South subjected to military rule while they insured the permanence of a protective system, which since the election of 1866 has been seriously threatened only twice and never overthrown.

Howard K. Beale.

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[75] July 5, 1866, Trumbull MSS., vol. LXVIII.

[76] John L. Hayes, *Second Annual Report of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers*, p. 14.

[77] The New York *Tribune*, July 13, 1866, said Sumner and four others who should have supported it killed the tariff because they were tired of hearing New England denounced as selfishly seeking protection.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Early Biographers of George Rogers Clark

It is well-known that Clark attempted to be his own biographer. The so-called "Memoir", begun soon after 1789 at the request of the Hon. John Brown, delegate to Congress from Kentucky, supported by the promise of James Madison to revise and prepare the manuscript for publication, covers only six years of time, 1773 to 1779. These, however, were the eventful years of Clark's life, and the fact that we have the recital of them only a decade after the capture of Fort Sackville while the author was in manhood's prime is of immense importance in determining the plans and the motives of the conqueror of Kaskaskia and Vincennes. What is more, Clark proceeded, in this matter, after the fashion approved by historians; he did not trust to his memory, but attempted to gather for his history contemporary and official documents. "Great part of the most material papers", he wrote to Brown, "are either lost, or made use of as waste paper." He also justified destruction of some papers on the ground that he had tried to forget certain unpleasant episodes. Nevertheless, he wrote, "Some papers I can collect, and will immediately set about this business".[1] This he did with such good results that he was able to utilize his early diary, extending from the end of 1776 to March, 1778; the journal of Major Joseph Bowman for the Vincennes campaign; and many official letters, proclamations, and orders. One source he was unable to obtain, a letter of great length and detail, which he wrote to George Mason, in the autumn of 1779. At the time Clark was preparing his "Memoir" he tried to secure this letter to Mason, but without success. Fifty years later, at the instance of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, a grandson of George Mason found this document among the family papers at Gunston Hall. Although requested by the Clark heirs to allow Draper to incorporate it with the other Clark manuscripts, this was not done and the Mason letter has ever since been separated from the body of the papers.[2]

Clark's "Memoir", or the autobiographical account of his campaigns, has been variously estimated by later historians. Some have considered it of little worth; it was "written by an old man who had squandered his energies and sunk into deserved obscurity ", said Roosevelt. It has, however, recently been given its rightful place as a source of the first consequence, by the thorough and scholarly study of it made by one of the most recent of Clark's biographers, James A. James.[3]

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[1] Draper MSS. 27CC29; printed in James A. James, *The Life of George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, 1928), pp. 476–477.

[2] Draper MSS. 58J120, 123, 182, 183. The Mason letter is now in possession of the Filson Club at Louisville. See Temple Bodley's article in *History Quarterly of the Filson Club*, July, 1929, 169–170.

Clark never finished this history he so bravely attempted, and there is every reason to believe that the document never left his own hands, and was never seen by Madison, Jefferson, or any contemporary statesman. Nor was it given to the public until a century had passed. Extracts from a copy of it were published in 1843 by J. B. Dillon, an early historian of Indiana; this was all that was known of this source until 1896 when another Indiana historian, W. H. English, published it entire from Dillon's copy. The first reproduction of the manuscript from the original in the Draper collection was that of 1912 in the first volume of *George Rogers Clark Papers* issued by the Illinois Historical Society under the editorship of James. It has since been modernized in spelling and punctuation, and twice printed under the editorship of M. M. Quaife.

Since Clark's own sketch of his achievements did not appear in print during his lifetime, and since in the western country there were few persons capable of historical or biographical composition, it is not strange that Clark's achievements did not receive the attention they deserved. Only a few of his contemporaries rightly estimated his importance to the nation's history. Benjamin Harrison in 1783 wrote to Clark, " I feel myself called on in the most forcible manner to return my thanks and those of my council [of Virginia] for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy ".[4] Jefferson, likewise, who always appreciated Clark, wrote in 1791 to Judge Innes of Kentucky, " Will it not be possible for you to bring General Clark forward? . . . We are made to hope he is engaged in writing the account of his expeditions north of Ohio. They will be valuable morsels of history, and will justify to the world those who have told them how great he was ".[5] The next year in his position as Secretary of State Jefferson gave instructions to the envoys he was sending to Spain to emphasize the transactions on the western border during the Revolutionary years. " We ", he wrote, " dislodged them [the British] from several posts in the same western country, to wit: Vincennes, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, &c., rescued the inhabitants, and retained constantly afterwards both them and the territory under our possession and government."[6]

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[3] James, *Clark*, Appendix, I.

[4] Draper MSS. 32J80; printed in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, xix, 245–246; James, *Clark*, p. 284.

[5] Draper MSS. 53J90; James, *Clark*, p. 479.

Although Clark was but slightly known in the older parts of the new nation, in the West his fame was a part of local history and a source of local pride. During his lifetime several Kentuckians were eager to become his biographers. Among these was Allan B. Magruder, a native of Kentucky who early in the new century planned a history of Indian wars. Magruder wrote to Clark in 1804 asking his assistance and the privilege of an interview. These were graciously accorded him and papers were promised to aid him in his enterprise.[7] Magruder made a beginning of his history; but having received in 1806 a federal appointment in New Orleans he removed thither, and although he advertised in the Kentucky newspapers that he intended to carry out his project,[8] he was soon diverted from his purpose by election to the United States Senate.

The next candidate for biographer of Clark was the talented and eccentric Kentucky lawyer, Joseph Hamilton Daviess. Daviess was so great an admirer of Clark that in a case in court in 1808 where Clark's campaigns came into notice, he spoke for several hours on these expeditions and their importance to the origins of the state. Remarking on Clark's personality, he said, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place where-on thou standest is holy ground". Daviess began about 1806 to prepare an early history of Kentucky and wrote to Clark asking his assistance, for, said he, "the history of our people is only the history of General Clark's life".[9] Clark sent this new proponent for his biography most of the manuscripts then in his possession, and several chapters of the proposed biography were written. The author, however, was summoned from this congenial task by war's alarm. As major of the regiment of Kentucky volunteers he joined General Harrison in 1811 on his march into Indian territory and was mortally wounded at the battle of Tippecanoe. What he had written on Clark was not wholly lost, for much of it was published in 1826–1827 in the columns of the *Kentucky Gazette*; these articles are known from the newspaper's editor as Bradford's "Notes on Kentucky".[10] After the death of Daviess his executors returned the papers he had borrowed to Clark's own care.

Daviess's brother-in-law, Humphrey Marshall, next took up the task of Kentucky historian and in 1812 published his *History of Ken-*

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[6] Jefferson, *Works* (edition of 1854), VII. 571.

[7] Draper MSS. 55J56, 58; 31S175.

[8] *Ibid.*, 2J11.

[9] *Ibid.*, 2J16; 55J61.

[10] *Ibid.*, 2J3, 7; a portion of these "Notes on Kentucky" was republished as *The Western Miscellany* (Xenia, O., 1827), compiled by G. W. Stipp.

tucky. Although Marshall belonged to a different political party from the Clarks, and was strongly partisan in many of his accounts, he nevertheless admired General Clark's achievements and in his history spoke of his military genius in the highest terms. Marshall seems at one time to have contemplated a biography of Clark, and had in his possession many of the Clark papers.[11] Probably their political differences divided them, and as Marshall was of nearly the same age as Clark, his pen grew weary, and he never went on with the proposed biography.

So the years passed, and Clark's fame was confined to a small group of friends and admirers in the immediate vicinity of his home. Finally when he died in 1818 his death seems to have been unnoted beyond the borders of his own state. The blight of obscurity appeared to have settled permanently on his name. Among his relatives, however, there was a strong desire to obtain a suitable biographer. At one time his nephew, Dr. John Croghan, seriously considered undertaking the task and for that purpose retrieved a number of Clark's papers which had been lent to the several prospective biographers. Other papers, to a considerable amount, were at St. Louis, whither Clark's youngest brother William had removed. Dr. Croghan, however, became absorbed in his profession, and wrote nothing to advance Clark's fame.

Clark himself had predicted that the political history of the western country would never be known until the publication of his papers,[12] yet for years there seemed no probability that these would be preserved or would ever see the light. During this period of eclipse Jared Sparks made overtures to the heirs at Louisville for material to enable him to include Clark in his series of American Biographies, but was not sufficiently encouraged to carry out the plan. In 1832 Washington Irving called at Louisville on his western tour and was approached by Clark's friends with a proposal to become his biographer.[13] Irving, however, soon became absorbed in the *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* and the vastly more important adventures of General Clark were neglected by him.

It is interesting to speculate concerning the place Clark might have occupied in American history had either Sparks or Irving undertaken in the early 'thirties of the nineteenth century to bring out his biography. It is probable that in such an event he would have been recognized much earlier than he has been as a leading factor in American beginnings, and the Northwest would not have waited for a sesquicentennial to do him honor.

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[11] Draper MSS. 2J4.

[12] *Ibid.*, 10J224.

[13] *Ibid.*, 2J2, 5.

During the 'thirties, two significant efforts were made towards a biography of Clark. The first of these was undertaken by Mann Butler, a Marylander who came to Kentucky about 1806. Butler was by turns teacher, university professor, editor of newspapers at Louisville and Frankfort, and historian. About 1832 he planned a series of works on Kentucky history. One of these was to be entitled the *State Papers of Kentucky,* and was to contain only original material, among which he listed the " Memoir of General Clark ".[14] He corresponded with William Clark at St. Louis, who came to Louisville, and brought Butler the " Memoir " and many other papers. Butler's great plans simmered down to a single-volume *History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1834) which was dedicated to William Clark and carried George Rogers Clark's portrait as a frontispiece. This was the first extensive printed account of Clark's expeditions. In 1839 Butler went to Mississippi, but upon leaving Louisville deposited the Clark papers with the Kentucky Historical Society. His later home was in St. Louis, where he was occupied for many years with literary pursuits, although he never again attempted to write a life of Clark.[15]

Meanwhile in 1838 was founded and incorporated at Louisville the Kentucky Historical Society which was active for less than ten years. One of the incorporators and the corresponding secretary for a time was Leonard Bliss, Jr., a New Englander of literary interests, who came in 1837 to Louisville as instructor in the Jefferson Seminary, later called Louisville College. Bliss very soon became interested in the early history of his new residence, and as he had already in Massachusetts produced a local history, planned a similar work for Louisville. This plan was soon merged in a larger project, a life of George Rogers Clark. Bliss had fine qualifications for such a work; his talents had been recognized by George D. Prentice, who made him editor of the *Literary News-Letter,* a literary offshoot of the *Courier-Journal.* Bliss entered upon his proposed biography with enthusiasm and collected in preparation a large number of papers.[16] The Clark family and the historical society aided the young author, while many of the actors in Clark's campaigns still living in and around Louisville were interviewed by Bliss, who thus secured many valuable side lights on the time of the Indian wars. Bliss began his book, finished the first chapter on Clark's early life, and made memoranda of all his later campaigns.

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[14] *Ibid.,* 44J134.

[15] Many of the papers of Mann Butler are in the Draper MSS. including some chapters of his proposed biography of Clark.

[16] Draper MSS. 2J6, 3J17–20.

In the meantime in the *News-Letter* appeared some anti-slavery articles over Bliss's signature; in the fashion of the time there had been interchanged some acrimonious remarks between Bliss and the editor of the Louisville *Sun*. The latter took the matter in good part; but his cousin Godfrey Pope, of the fire-eating type of Southerner, hotly resented Bliss's remarks and meeting him in the street, pulled a pistol and shot him without warning. The shooting occurred on September 26, 1842. Bliss died ten days later from the effects of his wound. A strange fatality seems to have pursued these early biographers of Clark; Magruder and Mann Butler both removed from the state; Daviess was killed in battle; and Bliss in a political quarrel. The biography of Clark was halted by these unforeseen accidents.

Just at the time of Bliss's death a new candidate was preparing himself for entering the lists of Clark's biographers. This was a youth from western New York, who had listened to tales of border heroism around his father's fireside and had become obsessed with the thought of rescuing the lives of these frontiersmen from obscurity. Lyman Copeland Draper after graduating from a freshwater college in Ohio went to Mississippi to become a journalist. At Pontotoc, where he settled, he met several survivors of Revolutionary days, who encouraged the young enthusiast to follow his bent. "I am very passionately devoted to the Pioneer history of the romantic West", Draper wrote in 1842. "My tastes and predilections long since led me into the inviting field of Western pioneer history—so much of which has been but partially and imperfectly explored. I have found it a far richer field of epic than I had dared to hope—so much so that I shall doubtless make it . . . the study of my whole life."[17]

Not long after Draper began his interviews with living pioneers and his salvaging of the papers still existing precariously in attics, cellars, and outhouses, he wrote to Dr. John Croghan in Louisville asking for information concerning his distinguished uncle, General George Rogers Clark. Croghan replied telling Draper of the failure of several biographers to accomplish the task and speaking of the tragedy of Bliss's death, who in his last hours had asked the Kentucky Historical Society to designate some competent person to complete the biography.[18] Draper thereupon cherished the hope that he might be allowed to undertake this work. He visited Louisville in 1844, but made little impression upon the authorities. "The Historical Society", he wrote, "was offish about granting me the privilege of examining, copying, etc. and *I would not beg.*"[19]

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[17] *Ibid.*, 3XX8.

[18] *Ibid.*, 10J224.

[19] *Ibid.*, 3XX39 (p. 4).

The honesty and worth of this new candidate for Clark's biographer soon began to be appreciated. Dr. Croghan entered warmly into his plans and secured the consent of all the existing relatives for Draper's use of the manuscripts.[20] Captain Tal. P. Schaffner, the active member and secretary of the Kentucky Historical Society, visited Draper at Baltimore in 1845 and became his fast friend, stating that the society acceded to all his wishes. In exultation young Draper wrote to a friend, "Kentucky expects great things of me in a historical way".[21] In November of the same year Draper visited Louisville only to meet with disappointment for the Clark papers had not yet been obtained from Leonard Bliss's executors.

The next summer Dr. Croghan wrote Draper that he now had the papers in his possession and would entrust them to him on condition that Clark's life should stand by itself and not form one of a series of *Lives of Western Pioneers*, as had been at first intended.[22] Draper acceded to this request and at once went on to Louisville and received from Dr. Croghan's hands the bulk of the then existing Clark papers. The papers of Clark's eldest brother Jonathan were at the same time given Draper by the latter's son Isaac; while the Kentucky Historical Society, which soon afterwards ceased to exist, appointed Draper official biographer.

Thenceforward for fifty years Draper essayed the task he had assumed. "The hero of the heroic age of the West", he wrote, "deserves a biographer who should be a student of Western history not by snatches of time but by long and patient application." [23] Such application he gave to his chosen work, chiefly in the line of collection; every bit of material he could garner about his hero's life he sought with conscientious vigor and thoroughness. His conception was encyclopedic, he strove to learn every fact about the life of Clark. In the course of his studies he visited Richmond and Washington and spent weeks copying from the archives. He had extensive copies made for him in the British and Spanish archives; he corresponded with the families of the British officers captured by Clark and obtained material on their lives; he visited and interviewed every relative or descendant of the Clark family, and as many of those who constituted Clark's army as he could find. He strove to learn all about the routes Clark traversed, the exact position of each camping place, spring, or ford on the way. He sought information about Clark's personal characteristics, the color of his hair and eyes, his habits, dress, the books he read, the remarks of every one known to have visited him. Nothing seemed too trivial or too uninteresting to be recorded.

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[20] *Ibid.*, 10J225.

[21] *Ibid.*, 3XX49.

[22] *Ibid.*, 10J228, 3XX57.

[23] *Ibid.*, 1J4.

In these researches he wrote and received thousands of letters, and traveled hundreds of miles. At the Sanitary Fair in Cincinnati in 1864 he bought the Bowman, Logan, Pogue, and other family papers of Kentucky pioneers.[24]

The fate of the journal of Major Joseph Bowman has long been a problem. Draper copied it in 1845 from the original in the possession of the Kentucky Historical Society. In 1883 Draper was offered by a dealer in New York what he asserted was an original letter of George Rogers Clark. For this fragment of one leaf badly mutilated Draper paid twelve dollars and on obtaining it discovered it was a single leaf of the missing Bowman journal, all that has been salvaged of this original document.[25] Who can doubt that many of the other valuable papers might have met a like fate, had it not been for Draper's protecting care? Indeed, the famous Clark "Memoir" had begun to disintegrate before Draper obtained it. The copy which Mann Butler made of this document in 1833 was more complete than the original manuscript, which Draper received in 1846.[26]

All the time he was collecting he was also patiently composing bit by bit pages and paragraphs for the proposed life. He endeavored several times to secure a publisher for the work and to obtain aid in putting it into form. In 1877 he wrote mournfully that there was no encouragement from publishers for the long-promised work on General Clark.[27] In the early 'eighties he took up the task with fresh vigor, and it was during the following years that he made the present arrangement of the Clark papers into the sixty-five bound volumes that they now occupy.

So the years fled and the end came, unexpected, and Draper left his chosen task unfinished and the fruit of his long researches to be gathered by other hands. After his death, August 26, 1891, it was found that he had bequeathed his entire collection of manuscripts to the Wisconsin Historical Society. Thus his work was not in vain; for the Clark biography he had performed a great task, he had made possible not one but many biographies of Clark, he had gathered vast stores of material on the Western world.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

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[24] *Ibid.* 17J124, 32J5.

[25] *Ibid.*, 47J165.

[26] *Ibid.*, 47J166.

[27] *Ibid.*, 12J114.

SALE OF SECURITIES IN JULY, 1914

IT is well-known that Ambassador Morgenthau's account of revelations to him by Von Wangenheim, German ambassador in Constantinople, in respect of a meeting at Potsdam, July 5, 1914, which has been so much attacked and condemned, has been impugned also because of a statement about sale of securities in the days following the "imperial conference" which Wangenheim was said to have described. Those present were reported as telling the Kaiser that Germany was ready for war, save the financiers, who asked for two weeks "to sell their foreign securities and to make loans". Of the following days Mr. Morgenthau wrote: "All the great stock exchanges of the world show that the German bankers profitably used this interval. Their records disclose that stocks were being sold in large quantities and that prices declined rapidly." He then cited the movements of various securities in New York.[1] This comment was afterwards sharply attacked by Professor S. B. Fay.[2] In a recent work that author declares "there is hardly a word of truth in this whole narrative", either as to various other things, "or, finally, (4) the alleged selling of securities in anticipation of war".[3] Mr. Fay's apparent refutation here is used by a careful German writer to discredit to some extent Mr. Morgenthau's narrative, even though evidence recently assembled compels this writer to admit that Wangenheim appears to have said much of what he was declared to have said.[4] The subject may, perhaps, be further examined.

It will be recalled that on July 11, 1914, the French consul at Budapest reported expectation of war and that stocks had fallen very low.[5] That day and for several sessions preceding, a local financial critic described the Vienna Bourse as weak, and numerous declines in securities were noted.[6] On July 11 a financial commentator in Berlin spoke of the decided decline and of forced sales in Vienna which had during the past week disturbed all the exchanges of the world.[7] Three days later a London paper mentioned the heavy slump on the

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[1] *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, pp. 84, 85, 86, 87.

[2] Herrn Morgenthaus Legende vom Potsdamer Kriegsrat, *Kriegsschuldfrage*, February 1925, pp. 82–88, an English translation of which appears *ibid.*, May 1925, pp. 309–315.

[3] *The Origins of the World War*, II., 169, 170, 177–180.

[4] Kurt Jagow, *Der Potsdamer Kronrat, Geschichte und Legende* (Munich, 1928), p. 26.

[5] French Yellow Book, no. 11.

[6] Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, July 8, 10, 11, 14, 1914.

[7] "Die Zwangsverkäufe in Wien, die in den letzten Tagen alle Börsenplätze der Welt in mehr oder minder grosse Erregung gesetzt hatten, fanden heute keine Fortsetzung": *Handelszeitung des Berliner Tageblatts*, July 11, 1914.

Vienna Bourse and its unsettling effect in Berlin.[8] Another journal there asserted that British operators were unfavorably impressed by the flatness of the Vienna exchange, due to Austro-Serbian tension.[9]

On July 7 it was noticed in Berlin that the bourses there and in Vienna were unfavorably influenced by news from the Balkans. Business was small, but " recessions were the order of the day ".[10] Next day in England the Berlin market was reported very depressed: " No definite reason was apparent for the all-around decline." [11] On July 10 a Berlin paper reported recessions all along the line in Berlin and in Vienna. Canadian Pacific fell two points in Berlin.[12] General recessions in Berlin on sales largely from Vienna and from Budapest were reported on July 13, and " panicky feeling " in Vienna the next day was noted a day later in Berlin.[13] A London paper said: " Berlin operators offered Canadian Pacific shares with great freedom, with the result that the quotation fell to the lowest level recorded for several years past; the late rally in these shares was due to American buying." [14] Next day this paper had special comment on " Selling of Canadas by Berlin ".[15] Another London paper had already noticed the liquidation of Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk in Berlin, which might be owing to continued falling off in earnings, but it observed that selling from New York was thought to have come really from Berlin, whence issued a rumor hard to believe, and that " Forced sales in an unwilling market were responsible for the fall [of Canadian Pacific], and, as usual, they were accompanied by all sorts of foolish rumours, the truth apparently being liquidation by a German house ".[16] For the week ending July 18, on the Berlin Bourse, Dresdner Bank declined from 146.25 to 144.50, Baltimore and Ohio from 90.62 to 84.50, Canadian Pacific from 191.75 to 186.50, Orientbahn from 185.50 to 176.37.[17] On July 20 " A flood of selling orders, mainly from the provinces, gave markets a panicky appearance in the opening hour ". The Vienna Bourse was said to be " thoroughly demoralized ".[18]

July 7 at the Paris Bourse was described as a day of reaction, and unsatisfactory conditions were especially observed since a public loan had just been oversubscribed forty times.[19] Under offerings there were numerous recessions the next day, and two days later general weakness was apparent.[20] On July 15, after the exchange had been closed for three days, there was a " séance mauvaise ", and it was observed that both London and Berlin were heavy.[21] Three days later the financial critic said bad conditions were increasing.[22] On July 20 Paris was in the throes of a panic.[23]

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[8] London *Morning Post*, July 14, 1914.

[9] London *Times*, July 11, 13, 1914.

[10] *H-Z Berliner Tageblatt*, July 7, 1914.

[11] *Manchester Guardian*, July 8, 1914.

[12] *H-Z Berliner Tageblatt*, July 10, 1914.

[13] *Ibid.*, July 13, 15, 1914.

[14] London *Times*, July 15, 1914.

[15] *Ibid.*, July 16, 1914.

[16] London *Daily Telegraph*, July 11, 14, 15, 1914.

[17] *H-Z Berliner Tageblatt*, July 18, 1914.

[18] London *Morning Post*, July 21, 1914.

On the Brussels Bourse it was noted that the phenomenal success of the French loan failed to bring the good effects expected. The various bourses seemed " completely demoralized ". Among other factors was the Austro-Serbian tension. The following price changes from July 3 occurred by July 10 and July 17: Argentine Railways, 43.75, 38.25, 39—after a decline to 34.50; Rio Tinto, 1745, 1730, 1728—after reaching 1720; Brazil Traction, 401, 382, 388.50—after a decline to 363; Mexico Tramways, 379.75, 365, 379.50—after a decline to 356. During the week ending July 17 Paris Métropolitain declined from 502 to 489, and had been as low as 485.[24]

In London an observer wrote on July 11: " Yesterday the Vienna Bourse was again depressed, and Brussels also was suffering from a spasm of liquidation. Conspicuously weak here were Canadian Pacifics, Trunks, Brazil Traction, and Shells." [25] For the week ending July 11 London reported many declines on the New York Stock Exchange, especially in railroads, and thought there was no explanation for the selling of Gould stocks, except that investors were discouraged.[26] The same critic spoke of the heavy slump in Vienna and of the decline in Berlin.[27] Concerning July 13 the large sales of Canadian Pacific in London were considered unaccountable, though there was rumor of a new capital issue. There was a decline of three and a quarter points that day.[28] The London *Times* had already written about " Markets Depressed by Political Fears ", saying that London operators were unfavorably impressed by the continued flatness of the Vienna Bourse due to great tension between Austria and Serbia, and expressed belief that the sale of Canadian Pacific was inspired from Berlin.[29] Another London paper wrote of "Money Market Affected by Continental Sales", "Money Market Upset by Foreign Politics", "General Weakness on Continental Sales", which resulted from depression on the foreign bourses, ascribed to tension between Austria and Serbia.[30] Prices in Berlin were reported depressed because of weak quotations in Vienna and because of fears about the Near East.[31] For July 21 the comment was: "The Continental Bourses seemed to be taking the strained relations between Austria and Servia seriously. Selling orders came here for everything saleable, and there was a general fall." In London Canadian Pacific and other favorites of the Continental speculators were flat.[32]

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[19] Paris *Temps*, July 8, 1914.

[20] *Ibid.*, July 9, 10, 1914. " C'est la faiblesse qui continue à être le caractère dominant de la Bourse ": *ibid.*, July 11, 1914.

[21] Paris *Temps*, July 15, 16, 1914.

[22] *Ibid.*, July 18, 1914.

[23] " On avait eu depuis le commencement de la crise beaucoup de mauvaises séances de Bourse, mais jamais le marché n'avait fait preuve d'autant de faiblesse qu'aujourd'hui; il a été en proie à une véritable panique ": *ibid.*, July 21, 1914.

[24] Brussels *Indépendance Belge*, July 13, 22, 1914.

[25] London *Morning Post*, July 11, 1914.

[26] *Ibid.*, July 13, 1914.

[27] London *Morning Post*, July 13, 14, 1914.

[28] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1914.

Meanwhile conditions in New York had attracted attention abroad. On July 15 the market was feverish, another severe break in New Haven and in Canadian Pacific causing heavy losses, while Baltimore and Ohio was heavy. "Prices at the opening were under pressure, a good deal of which was attributed to foreign selling." Next day Baltimore and Ohio was still lower, and "New York Central was within a fraction of the lowest price in a score of years".[33]

After the contents of the note to Serbia were made known the Continental bourses were demoralized and conditions near a panic in Paris.[34] Professor Fay has asserted that "a real and violent decline on the New York Market did begin, of course, *after July 23*".[35] It is interesting to observe that on some of the exchanges new declines were not for a while much greater than the previous ones. In the week ending July 24, on the Brussels Bourse, Argentine Railways, which three weeks before had stood at 43.75, and later had fallen to 34.50 rising then to 39, went to 35; Métropolitain, which in a fortnight had dropped from 502 to 485 and then risen to 489, went to 462; Rio Tinto, which within three weeks had declined from 1760 to 1720 and then risen to 1728, dropped to 1670; Brazil Traction, which had gone from 401 to 363 and then back to 391, went to 362.50; Mexico Tramways, which from 379.75 had fallen to 356 and then risen to 381, went to 356.50.[36] On the Berlin Bourse, in the week ending July 25, Dresdner Bank, which a fortnight before had stood at 146.25, and a week before at 144.50, went to 139; Russian Bank, which had been 149.62, then 155.75, went to 119; Baltimore and Ohio, 90.62, 84.50, 77; Canadian Pacific, 191.75, 186.50, 177.75; Orientbahn, 185.50, 176.37, 153.[37]

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[29] London *Times*, July 11, 13, 1914.

[30] London *Daily Telegraph*, July 16, 21, 22, 1914.

[31] London *Morning Post*, July 20, 1914.

[32] *Ibid.*, July 22, 1914.

[33] *Ibid.*, July 16, 17, 1914.

[34] London *Daily Telegraph*, July 25, 1914.

[35] *Origins of the World War*, ii. 180.

[36] *Indépendance Belge*, July 29, 1914.

Much of what Mr. Morgenthau reported as told by Wangenheim is now known to have been told by Wangenheim to others in July and August, 1914.[38] Often stock exchange operations are secretly conducted, and the outsider, even the financial critic, may know little as to their significance at the time and may be able to discover but little later on. Such operations as Mr. Morgenthau expected, would, if successful, have been concealed as much as possible at the time. Whether they took place or not may never be certainly known. The author submits, however, that almost at once after the conferences at Potsdam, July 5 and 6, 1914, prices began to decline on various bourses, that this was noticed at the time, that a persistent reason then advanced was the tension over Serbian affairs, that the declines were at first most evident in Vienna and in Berlin, and that some of the selling elsewhere was at the time ascribed to German sources.

RAYMOND TURNER.

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[37] *H-Z Berliner Tageblatt*, July 25, 1914.

[38] For a particular account of this, see the author's The Potsdam Conference: New Evidence corroborating Ambassador Morgenthau's Account, *Current History*, XXXI. 265–271 (Nov. 1929).

DOCUMENTS

Suggestions during the Crisis of 1840 for a "League" to Preserve Peace[1]

During the crisis of 1840, when the peace of Europe was for a time seriously threatened, Prince Metternich suggested various expedients to avoid an impending conflict.[2] Among these undoubtedly the most interesting is the one which the Prince developed at Königswart in coöperation with Lord Beauvale the British Ambassador to Austria. Its character is fully revealed in Beauvale's dispatch and inclosures which are quoted below. Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, did not share Metternich's fears about the preservation of peace in Europe and in reply to Beauvale he stated that in the opinion of the British Government existing circumstances did not appear to require such arrangements as had been proposed for a "league" to preserve peace. According to his statement the British ministers were inclined to "hope and believe" that the peace of Europe would continue undisturbed.[3]

FREDERICK STANLEY RODKEY.

I. LORD BEAUVALE'S DISPATCH EXPLAINING THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUGGESTIONS FOR A "LEAGUE" TO PRESERVE PEACE[4]

At a moment when the aspect of affairs was more threatening than it is at present, I represented to Prince Metternich the necessity of closing our ranks to meet the danger and asked if he could count upon the coöperation of Sardinia and the Germanick confederation. He said he could not if it were demanded of them for the Turco-Egyptian affair in which they feel little interest, but that if the question was presented in a more general form, and they were invited to enter into a defensive league for all contingencies, he had no doubt of their consenting.

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[1] The documents were obtained while the writer was serving as Fellow of the Social Science Research Council.

[2] In connection with the contention of Von Srbik and others that a cardinal principle in Prince Metternich's program between 1815 and 1848 was to preserve the peace of Europe, the following quotation of a private letter which Lord Aberdeen wrote to the Austrian Chancellor in 1839 is of some interest.

"I am sure you will believe the sincere pleasure it gave me to have the good account of your health which I received from Claud Hamilton, confirmed by your own hand. I see, by the papers, that you are returned to Vienna, and are again in harness. At this too, I rejoice; for no one is more sensible of the inestimable advantage of your presence and counsels at this moment, in the direction of those questions by which all Europe is perplexed.

"I am obliged to you for your kind recollection; and will not detain you by professions of friendship, which has been on my part invaried for five and twenty years. Times are greatly changed in this country [England]. I recollect, formerly, there was a party, who imagined that they stigmatized me, by calling me your friend and pupil. I believe now there does not exist any set of men, with whom it would not be considered as a title of honour." *Cf.* Aberdeen to Metternich, [Private] Nov. 12, 1839, Austrian *Staatsarchiv*, England (*Varia*), 1833–39, F. 29.

[3] Palmerston to Beauvale, No. 166, Oct. 23, 1840, F. O. 7/289.

[4] Beauvale to Palmerston, No. 117, "Confidential", Aug. 29, 1840, F. O. 7/291A.

Upon my enquiring in what manner he would propose that this should be done, he said that it must be by a proposition from England; that he thought he could answer for Prussia, and that the other Powers consenting, Russia could not stand aloof. He expatiated much upon the benefit to Europe which would result from such a league, and as the idea seemed to me to be applicable to the circumstances of the moment, and not inconsistent with the principles entertained by Her Majesty's Government I drew up a paper which might serve as a point of departure in the further examination of the project. . . .

When I shewed it to the Prince, he told me that he had commissioned Count Fiquelmont to draw up something on the subject, and he then produced and read to me the count's paper, which arrived at the same end as mine by a different road. After reading it I remarked to the Prince that there was something wanting to both; that as a defensive league against France either might suffice, but that if the more extended view, of an additional permanent security for the preservation of peace in Europe were aimed at, it would be necessary in discountenancing war, to substitute some other mode of obtaining redress. After much conversation upon the subject, he begged me to add this to my first paper.

The attempt to do so led to giving it a new form, which, with the Prince's observations upon it, I have the honour to enclose to Your Lordship.

He is exceedingly warm upon the project, and would consider its realization as the greatest benefit that has ever been conferred upon Europe. In canvassing the possibility of effecting this he professed to be ready to sign it with England, Prussia, the Germanic Confederation and the Italian states, without either France or Russia if they would not come into it.

I think that upon reconsideration he would hardly abide by this, as it would, in that case, incur the opposition of those two formidable Powers and become the means of uniting them.

In a subsequent conversation I told the Prince that the project went to nothing less than the erection of a tribunal for the preservation of peace in Europe, and that such a tribunal might perhaps be constituted without Russia, but hardly without France. He asked if I thought England would sign it without Russia, to which I answered that I could form no opinion as to what England would do, that it was a proposition of his own which had not yet been submitted to her, and that all I was doing was merely to put it in a shape to be laid clearly before her.

He told me he should not mention the subject even to Prussia, until he should receive Your Lordship's answer; that he should put Count Fiquelmont's paper, and a memorandum of his own into my hands as the most delicate mode of bringing the subject before Her Majesty's Government, and that the system he proposed to establish would be, in fact, no more than an extension of a principle already existing in the Germanic Confederation the advantage of which had been proved by experience.

The two documents which I have the honour to transmit to Your

Lordship appear to me to be adapted to entirely different circumstances.

The first is a defensive league, the real effect of which would be to secure the coöperation of the Germanic confederation and that of Russia, and thereby to erect an effectual barrier against France. I have no doubt but what a leading object with Prince Metternich in this proposal is to obtain an additional security for Italy, but this is no reason why we should decline it, if it be found conducive to our interests in other respects. It would never do to engage in so great an undertaking as a war with France without some bond between the Powers upon whom the burthen of it would rest; and the dream of Italian independence has so intirely passed away, while it has become clear that Italy, if not Austrian will be French, that no doubt can remain as to the course which is dictated by the interest of England.

Hence it results that the defensive league in the spirit of which the first paper is conceived would tend, if not warranted by the attitude of France, to create the danger it professes to meet, and that the proposal to adopt the proposition would only merit examination in the event of a state of things which should give a well founded apprehension of war.

This is not the case with the second paper. Its adoption would effect a change in the public law of Europe conceived in the spirit of Peace, and having for its object the prevention of those interruptions to the public tranquility which have recurred at intervals up to the present time. Its direction however would be exclusively against aggression from without, neither interfering with the independence of nations nor with their efforts for internal improvement. This is so much in accordance not only with the material interests of nations, but with the opinions and speculative reasonings of the age, it is so peculiarly consonant to the ideas and feelings of England, and if practicable, would be considered as so great a benefit to humanity at large, that I entertain no doubt of its receiving the favourable consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and in this persuasion have not hesitated to maintain Prince Metternich in his enthusiasm upon the subject, and to coöperate with him in the development of the idea.

If your Lordship should be disposed to enter into the project the Prince would wish it to be matured between England and Austria before any communication were made to other Governments, and he expressed the opinion that it would be best to defer the invitation for the accession of France until a Treaty should have been actually signed. I told him this would be the sure way to prevent her entering into it, upon which he said that at least it would be best to observe silence towards her until the terms should be agreed upon, in order to avoid the difficulties which she would not fail to throw into their discussion.

P. S. August 31, 1840. I have attached much value to the transmission of Count Fiquelmont's very able paper to Your Lordship, but have had much difficulty in obtaining it from Prince Metternich. In the first place there are passages in it which were not intended for England. In the second the Prince is apprehensive that Your Lordship might attach to it the value of a project, and I have only succeeded in procuring it by engaging to explain to you that none of these documents are to be looked upon in any other light than as first sketches, and as such liable to be greatly altered or suppressed altogether upon farther examination of the idea from which they have proceeded.

2. LORD BEAUVALE'S FIRST PROJECT TO ESTABLISH A " DEFENSIVE LEAGUE " [5]

L'experience d'evenemens recens ayant prouvé que des alarmes, quoique fausses, conduisent à de graves resultats, que par elles la fortune des familles est compromise, l'industrie arrêtée, et les classes qui en dependent exposées à de grandes privations, en même tems que tout progrès et toute amelioration est interrompue; considérant en outre que ces malheurs sont le fruit de l'erreur, ne reposant sur un autre fondement que des bruits de projets hostiles ou ambitieux, qui n'existent pas, mais dont le soupçon suffit pour jetter de l'inquietude dans les esprits et met en danger la bonne intelligence subsistant entre les nations; animées en même tems du désire de prevenir le retour de pareils malheurs en offrant à l'Europe un gage de paix et de securité dans toutes les eventualités, les quatre cours . . . en renoncant à toute acquisition de territoire au dépens d'un autre, sont convenues qu'une attaque dirigée par une Puissance Européenne contre l'une d'Elles sera regardée comme l'étant contre toutes les quatre. Elles engagent en conséquence à s'y opposer, le cas éscheant, conjointement avec tous leurs moyens, et pour ne pas laisser de doute sur l'entente de cet engagement Elles declarent que si une telle attaque devoit provenir d'une des Puissances signataires du présent acte, les trois autres seroient tenues de s'y opposer et qu'Elles s'y opposeraient de la même manière comme si elle fût faite par une Puissance qui y seroit restee étrangère. Desirant en outre qui cette securité qu'Elles visent à s'assurer pour Elles, s'éntende au reste de l'Europe, Elles sont convenues de communiquer le present acte aux autres cours Européennes en y invitant leur accession.

La présente convention restera en force pendant dix ans à comter du jour de l'échange des ratifications.

3. LORD BEAUVALE'S SECOND PROJECT TO EFFECT " A CHANGE IN THE PUBLIC LAW OF EUROPE " [6]

L'experience d'evenemens recens ayant prouvé que des alarmes, quoique fausses, conduisent à de graves resultats, que par elles la fortune des familles est compromise, l'industrie arrêtée, et les classes qui en dependent exposées à de grandes privations, en même tems que tout progrès et toute amelioration est interrompue; considérant en outre que ces malheurs sont le fruit de l'erreur, ne reposant sur un autre fondement que des bruits de projets hostiles ou ambitieux, que n'existent pas, mais dont le soupçon suffit pour troubler les esprits et mettre en danger la bonne intelligence entre les nations—Animées en même temps du desir de prévenir le retour de pareils malheurs on offrant à l'Europe un gage de paix et de securité dans toutes eventualités les quatre cours de . . . sont tombées d'accord sur les articles suivans.[7]

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[5] Inclosure No. 1 with Beauvale's dispatch quoted above. The peculiarities of accent and spelling correspond to those of the original.

[6] Inclosure No. 2 with Beauvale's dispatch quoted above.

[7] *Observations* [of Beauvale upon this preamble].

" Count Fiquelmont's paper proceeds upon the prospect of good to Europe from the preservation of peace. I observed to P[rince] Metternich that I preferred to found an act upon the experience of evil rather than upon the hope of good; on certainty rather than on speculation, and thus to give it the character of a remedy to a definite and known ill. Prince Metternich agreed saying that C[oun]t Fiquelmont's paper had rather the character of a dispatch than of an instrument.

Article 1er

Les quatre cours s'engagent éparemment et réciproquement à ne se faire droit en aucun cas par l'emploi de la Force contre un Etat Européen sans s'être préalablement adressées aux autre cours signataires de la présente convention afin d'obtenir (si faire se peut) avec leur secours, le rédressement des griefs dont elles auraient à se plaindre, par les voies de la conciliation.[8]

Article II

Dans le cas d'une pareille demande les quatre cours s'engagent à se réunir dans la ville qui leur serait designée par la Puissance qui l'aurait fait, afin d'y aviser en commun aux moyens de prévenir un eclat, et après avoir pris connaissance des faits Elles s'empresseront de detruire tout motif de guerre en employant toute leur influence morale pour obtenir securité ou reparation selon les circumstances, pour la Partie menacée ou lesée.[9]

Article III

Si en déprit de leurs efforts une Puissance aggressive, persistant dans ses projets d'empietement sur les autres se montrat disposée à les faire valoir par l'emploi de la force, alors et en aucune autre cas, Elles se senteroient appelées à y secourir pour leur defense commune. Dans ce cas elles regarderoient une attaque dirigée contre l'une d'elles comme l'etant contre toutes, et elles employeroient tous leurs efforts et tous leurs moyens pour s'y opposer.[10]

Art[icle] IV

Pour ne laisser aucun doute sur la veritable intention des cours, Elles declarent que si le maintien de la paix fût mis en danger par l'acte d'une Puissance signataire de la présente convention, les autres seroient tenues à remplir les engagements qu'elles ont contracté par les articles précédens,

"I begged him to remark in case he should make alterations that I had drawn this act in the interest of the governed rather than in that of their governments, that the preamble runs in this spirit and it would be a pity to obliterate it. He said that it was his own idea, and that he should carefully preserve it."

[8] *Observations* [of Beauvale].

"To this Article Prince Metternich gave a full assent, recognizing in it the inevitable basis of the whole proceeding."

[9] *Observations* [of Beauvale].

"Prince Metternich suggested that it would be better to fix the meeting in the town the best appropriated to the purpose. To this I replied that a year might be lost in negotiations to determine the place of meeting; that it was necessary to have one specified and that the demanding power was the one most interested in fixing the fittest place. He then proposed that it should be in the capital of the demanding Power. All purposes would be answered by specifying a place and reserving to the conference the faculty of transferring their sittings to the one the most appropriate."

[10] *Observations* [of Beauvale].

"Approved by Prince Metternich with the reserve of some change to be made in the redaction."

et qu'Elles les rempliroient de la même manière comme si cet acte avait été commis par une Puissance qui y seroit restée Etrangère.[11]

Article V

Dans le cas où aucune demande ne fût faite, mais où il seroit de notoriété publique que la paix de l'Europe fut en danger d'etre troublée, les Puissances signataires du présent acte se reservent de se réunir dans la capitale des Etats de l'une d'entre Elles pour prendre en considération les moyens de conserver à l'Europe les bienfaits de la paix en reunissant leurs conseils et au besoin, leurs efforts pour un fin si desirable.[12]

Article VI

Les quatre cours désirant offrir à l'Europe la même securité qu'Elles visent à s'assurer pour Elles sont convenues de communiquer le présente convention aux autres cours Européennes en y invitant leur accession sous la reserve que toute deliberation et toute resolution à prendre en conformité avec les provisions de cet acte resteront exclusivement aux Puissances qui en auront été originairement signataires.[13]

4. Count Fiquelmont's " Paper " [14]

La situation actuelle des choses en Europe parait avoir en elle quelque chose d'indéfinissable. Un désordre qui serait immense est sur le point de renverser un état de paix qui n'a jamais été ni aussi long ni aussi riche en résultats d'ordre et de bien-être; toutes les idées, toutes les entreprises, toutes les fortunes sont devenues dépendantes de cet état de paix comme s'il devait toujours durer, ou au moins avec la confiance, que la sagesse des gouvernemens le rendrait encore long; et cependant, voilà que tout-à-coup quelques districts de territoire à peine connus des masses européennes agitent tous les esprits; mais la Syrie ne serait ici,—semblable à l'étincelle qu'allume un incendie,—qu'une cause accidentelle, les matières inflammables sont en Europe; c'est là qu'il faut chercher la cause du mal; c'est là qu'il faut la signaler pour la détruire, ou au moins pour la contenir aussi long temps que cela peut être possible.

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[11] *Observations* [of Beauvale].

" Approved."

[12] *Observations* [of Beauvale].

" Approved by Prince Metternich."

[13] *Observations* [of Beauvale].

" Approved by Prince Metternich with the reserve of a reference to be made to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle. I believe the provisions of that treaty to be inapplicable and to have been applied (*sic*). If I mistake not they provide that the parties interested shall be called to deliberate. My opinion is that they ought to be excluded.

" Here is one of the great difficulties of the present proceeding. Some one of the Great Powers is pretty sure to be interested in every cause. Is it to sit as a judge in its own case?

" The next difficulty is how to admit the mass of the European Powers to such a treaty and yet refuse them a voice in the proceedings under it immediately touching their own interests, yet if this is not done no good can come of it."

[14] Inclosure No. 3 with Beauvale's dispatch quoted above, " Aout, 1840." The editor of these documents was unable to find in the Austrian *Staatsarchiv* a copy of Count Fiquelmont's " paper " or of any other document on the " league " project of Metternich and Beauvale. The *Politischer Index* for 1840, and the materials labeled " England (*Weisungen*)," F. 299–300, and " England (*Varia*) " F. 29–30. were consulted in this connection.

Ce n'est pas le hasard qui a produit une des plus longues paix dont l'histoire garde le souvenir, et les causes qui la menacent ne sont également pas fortuites. La paix avait été rétablie par un principe d'alliance contre une injuste et violente ambition; ce principe, consacré par un traité était devenu la base d'un autre engagement que les grandes Puissances continentales prirent entr'Elles, de n'avoir pour règle de leurs relations politiques que la justice et la modération, et de chercher toujours à résoudre les difficultés qui pourraient survenir, dans un esprit de paix et de désintéressement personnel.

Plus tard, une triple-alliance vint à se former; elle avait pour objet d'accorder une charitable protection à un peuple opprimé qui en réclamait le secours. La Russie fut, dans cette circonstance, la Puissance qui porta la première atteinte au principe, qu'elle avait proclamé vouloir toujours prendre pour règle de sa conduite; elle se laissa entrâiner à profiter des embarras de la Porte pour lui faire une guerre dont elle tira des avantages particuliers, ne tenant compte, dans cette circonstance, ni du principe général qu'elle avait consacré, ni de l'engagement particulier qu'elle avait contracté par le traité de la triple-alliance. Ses deux alliés, depuis ce moment, perdirent confiance en elle et lui devinrent hostiles. Les preuves de modération qu'elle donna plus tard, furent inutiles; on la tint pour de l'habilité qui savait attendre son occasion. Le résultat le plus immédiat de cette première infraction d'un engagement qui avait été si solennel, fut de mettre la France plus à l'aise; elle reprit le large de son ancienne ambition; un soi-disant coup d'éventail devint le pretexte de la conquête d'Alger, et cette possession, que la France déclare ne vouloir jamais abandonner conduit les pensées françaises à la prétention de faire de la Méditerranée un lac français; mais ce ne serait rien moins que l'Empire romain, rendu bien plus dangereux puis qu'il aurait une plus large base. Les hommes auront cependant beau faire, le monde marche d'un pas plus égal qu'autrefois; l'orgueil et la violence n'auront plus jamais les résultats durables que peuvent seules aujourd'hui donner la sagesse et la modération. Les faits eux-mêmes développent les conséquences qui en font justice; telle est déjà la nature des embarras de la position de la France, elle accuse la Russie de convoiter la conquête de Constantinople; elle veut s'y opposer; le calcul le plus simple serait donc de venir au secours du Sultan et de lui rendre de la force; mais la France veut conserver Alger; elle craint que le Sultan, réintégré dans la puissance, ne lui en dispute la possession; elle a donc conçu ce projet batard de protéger une troisième force qui serait puissante contre la Russie, sans lui devenir hostile à Alger; mais la France oublie que le principe de l'hérédité politique seule n'a aucune force en Orient, en face de celui de l'hérédité religieuse. Son calcul manque donc à la fois de justice et de raison. On voit clairement que les difficultés de la question d'Orient découlent beaucoup moins de l'état intérieur de l'Empire turc que de la violation des principes de la part des puissances européennes.

La France pour se tirer d'embarras, et pour donner carrière à des projets qu'elle croit plus faciles, parcequ'ils sont plus à sa portée et à sa convenance, voudrait déplacer la querelle de l'Orient et la transporter en Europe; ainsi M. Thiers a dit, que ce ne serait pas en Syrie que la France, alliée de Méhemed-Aly, ferait la guerre, mais aux Alpes et sur le Rhin.—Mais à quel propos? et quelle connexité y a-t-il entre des questions si différentes? Il y a donc en Europe d'autres causes de guerre que l'Egypte et la Syrie. La presse française ne cache pas les vues de la France; la tribune elle même ne les déguise pas. La France veut reprendre la rive gauche du Rhin, comme un bien dont elle a été dépouillée, et elle oppose, sans rougir, le droit que la force lui a donné, pendant quelques années, à celui d'un empire qui, outre une existence politique de plus de mille ans, fonde sa Souveraineté sur le principe de la nationalité.

L'Angleterre a eu tort de donner son assentiment à l'expédition d'Anvers et de ne pas s'être opposée à la prise d'Ancône; ce n'est ni le feu d'artifice du siege d'Anvers tiré en pleine paix, ni cette autre violation de tous les droits d'un Etat faible et pacifique, qui ont terminé les affaires de la Belgique et de l'Italie, elles ont, au contraire, malgré ces deux abus de la force, été terminées pacifiquement par la modération des deux Puissances allemandes. Cependant la France ne comprénant pas ce genre de force, se tromperait en le prenant pour le symptôme d'une faiblesse qui lui permettrait d'abuser encore davantage de sa puissance. Y a-t-il par exemple, rien de plus intolérable que cette prétention de s'asseoir en conférence et de vouloir, que sa volonté isolée devienne la loi des autres membres de cette Conférence, tous réunir dans une seule et même opinion? Et n'est-ce pas chose inouie que d'oser déclarer ce fait, comme étant une offense envers elle, parcequ'il ne s'est pas accompli dans les formes qui auraient été de sa seule convenance? Si la grande association politique européenne doit continuer à exister, ne doit elle pas reposer sur le principe, que l'intérêt particulier de l'un de ses membres ne peut jamais être plus fort que les intérêts réunir de tous les autres? Quand le droit du plus fort s'est brisé devant les tribunaux qui protègent les faibles; quand des principes de justice sont devenus la règle de tous les intérêts privés; quand le droit le propriété est devenu tellement sacré que personne ne peut plus lui porter atteinte impunement, soit par la violence, soit par la ruse ou de la mauvaise foi, ne verrons-nous donc jamais le code des nations être aussi les codes civils, et l'esprit de justice sera-t-il banni de cette sphère plus élevée, qui seule peut décider la plus grave des questions,—celle de la guerre? Toutes les mauvaises passions continues par les lois dans la vie privée, seront-elles libres d'aller se déchainer sur le terrain politique? Y aurait-il de la raison à prendre tant de soins pour régler les petites relations, quand quelqu'un pourrait, à tout propos, troubler les grandes? Quand les gouvernemens excitent toutes les fortunes à s'engager dans de vastes entreprises industrielles; quand ils engagent eux-mêmes la fortune publique dans toutes les opérations du crédit; quand le mouvement de ces opérations a établi le principe d'une solidarité devenue presque générale, n'est-il pas devenu pour eux d'un devoir plus impérieux de veiller au maintien de la paix? Pourra-t-il être libre à un peuple de la violer à son grè et d'en detruire tous les bienfaits? Si cela était possible, il y aurait alors quelque chose qui ferait défaut au maintien de l'ordre politique en Europe. Quand la justice est violée c'est l'autorité seule qui peut en rétablir le droit. Et n'y aurait-il, pour le rétablir d'autre moyen que cette *ultima ratio,* que nous voyons être plus facilement encore celle des peuples que celle des Rois? Si cette extrémité devait devenir inévitable, il faudrait au moins, pour la rendre aussi rare que faire se peut, en faire retomber tous les malheurs sur celui qui en aurait été le provocateur. La ligne de tous ceux qui veulent la paix, contre celui qui seul veut la guerre, serait donc le principe qu'il faudrait promulguer, comme la sauve-garde la plus certaine de tous les intérêts de l'Europe. L'histoire des derniers temps prouve avec la dernière évidence, que l'action isolée d'une ou de plusieurs Puissances ne suffit pas à l'aplanissement d'une grande complication politique; il faut un concours plus général. Il faut toujours des négociations pour arranger une grande affaire d'un intérêt général. Ne vaut-il donc pas mieux négocier avant la guerre que de finir par négocier après? La raison ne sera-t-elle pas un arbitre plus sage que la force? Dans la cironstance actuelle, toutes les Puissances disent vouloir la même chose; toutes declarent également leur desir de conserver la paix, et cependant toutes proclament l'imminence d'une guerre qu'elles ne veulent pas. Il est clair qu'il y a, dans une pareille situation, quelque chose qui n'est pas compris, ou une ambition qui se masque; il faut donc s'expliquer pour éclaircir ce qui est obscur, ou pour demasquer l'ambition qui veut se voiler. C'est alors à ses risques et ses périls que la Puissance ambitieuse aurait à soutenir la guerre contre toutes les autres qui se ligneraient pour lui faire opposition.

Les esprits materialistes en politique ne pourront pas nier, que c'est à ce principe que l'Europe doit les 25 années de la paix dont elle jouit encore. Si les traités qui lui ont procuré ce bienfait, sont affaiblis par les infractions qui leur ont été faites, ne serait-il pas utile de les remplacer par une nouvelle transaction conçue dans le même esprit? Et si cette transaction n'avait pour résultat que de maintenir la paix de l'Europe encore 25 autres années, y a-t-il quelqu'un qui oserait la traiter d'impracticable utopie? Ce qui a été fait une fois avec un succès que tous les peuples de l'Europe savent apprécier, ne pourrait-il donc pas se faire une seconde fois avec le même succès?

Les deux grandes Puissances allemandes placées avec la Confédération germanique dans une position intermédiare et centrale, sont appelées à tenir dans leurs mains la balance des grandes intérêts européens; ce rôle est essentiellement celui de la modération; ce n'est pas quand on dispose de toutes les forces d'une population de près de 60 millions, éclairée, industrieuse, riche et guerrière, que l'on peut craindre voir des paroles de justice et de raison interprêtées comme si elles étaient l'expression de la faiblesse. Le principe d'honneur conçu dans les limites étroites et personnelles de individu ne peut jamais devenir la règle de conduite d'un gouvernement et d'un peuple; la lutte des nations a d'autres lois que celles d'un duel, et le cliquetis des épées du moyen age ne doit plus avoir d'échos. Le traité qui vient de se conclure à Londres le 15, Juillet, et la déclaration qui sera faite, après l'echange des ratifications, désignant ce moment à notre conviction comme celui qui serait le plus opportun pour consacrer, par une transaction à laquelle toutes les Puissances seraient appelées à prendre part, l'esprit dans lequel le traité de Londres a été fait, et pour en faire l'application comme principe à toutes les relations politiques des Etats.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Early History of Assyria to 1000 B.C. By SIDNEY SMITH, Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1929. Pp. xxvii, 418. $12.00.)

L. W. KING was one of the few really great Assyriologists of the last generation. He wrote a *History of Sumer and Akkad* and a *History of Babylon*, careful, sane transcriptions of what was to be found in the inscriptions he could read so well, with relative neglect of the cultural history. His plan to complete the trilogy by a history of Assyria was frustrated by his untimely death.

Sidney Smith now takes up the task of writing this third volume. He evidently plans his work on a larger scale, for the part now before us brings us just to the period when Assyrian sources begin to flow in considerable quantity and when Assyrian history begins to take on interest. The size of the book, however, is not due to padding out the little known earlier history of Assyria. As the successor of King, Smith has felt it his duty to rewrite those parts of the earlier work, and they are many, where more recent investigation has increased our knowledge. All this is given as background to the history of early Assyria.

Smith has voiced loud objection to those who have written popular histories of Assyria without full references to sources and without full discussion of problems. His own references are placed at the close of the work. This may save the eyesight of the general reader but it is a continued trouble for the scholar. As might have been expected, his references are anything but full. As one illustration from many, he appreciates the inscription of Arik-den-ilu as the first example of the Assyrian annals, but he does not indicate where it has been published, much less the fact that it is now in the Morgan Library in New York. He knows that the famous sword of Adad-nirari I. is in the Metropolitan Museum only from a German reference.

He is entitled to full credit for recognizing that the Assyrians were human beings like ourselves and not murderous savages, that their actions are to be explained by ordinary human motives, that Assyrian culture was not a mere reflection of the Babylonian, but was influenced from many other quarters, and, in spite of all these external influences, it was a culture with its own individuality. Six years ago, all this was rankest heresy; nowhere in his book does Smith give credit to the predecessor who first urged these conclusions to an unbelieving world. The natural result has been that one reviewer at least has credited Smith with being the first defender of the Assyrian character.

The other article of Smith's credo, full discussion of every disputed problem, has been more successfully realized, though here again the placing of the few references at the end of the volume is a weariness to the scholar. It will probably be an equal weariness of the flesh to the general reader, who is continually losing the sweep of the story. For the convenience of scholar and general reader alike, it would have been better if these discussions had been presented in preliminary articles in the learned reviews.

In general, the discussions are sane, the results such as are accepted today. It is particularly worthy of praise that our author often admits that there is not sufficient material to reach a certain conclusion, that we must await the new information which is so rapidly pouring in upon us.

The one great novelty is an interpretation of the history along good nineteenth century Marxian lines. Trade and commerce form the *leitmotiv* of the composition. Such an interpretation may do well enough when we are dealing with commercially minded Babylonians, but it is hopelessly inadequate as an explanation of the actions of Assyrian monarchs. Like the early Romans, Assyrian rulers showed little interest in trade and commerce, save as it might through taxation fill the coffers of the empire. It is significant that the documents from the royal archives deal with administration and with agriculture, but ordinary commercial operations are almost completely missing. A treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal of Tyre shows the same ignoring of economic advantage which appears in the early treaties of Rome with Carthage.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos, conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Edited by P. V. C. BAUR, Curator of Classical Archaeology in Yale University, and M. I. ROSTOVTZEFF, Sterling Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology in Yale University, with a Preface by James R. Angell, President of Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. x, 77. $1.00.)

DURA-EUROPOS first became generally known through publications by Professor Breasted (*Syria,* III., 1922, pp. 178 ff.; *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting,* Chicago, 1924). Excavations were conducted there in 1922–1923 by Professor Cumont (Franz Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos, 1922–1923,* Paris, 1926; *cf. Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXII., pp. 836 ff.), but much remained to be done, and President Angell and the editors of the book before us tell how Yale University and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres have united to carry on the work. The actual excavations of the first season began on April 13 and ended on May 6, 1928. Professors Rostovtzeff and Cumont were the scientific directors; the field director was M. Maurice Pillet, who was assisted by Dr. Clark Hopkins and Mr. Jotham Johnson. The General Report of the Campaign is by M. Pillet, Professor Rostovtzeff publishes and discusses the Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Professor C. C. Torrey, Two Palmyrene Inscriptions, Professor Cumont, the Relief of Nemesis, a monument of some interest because the Sun is associated on it with the goddess of vengeance. A Fragment of Mussulman Pottery, discussed by M. Raymond Koechlin, is of the white variety with blue decoration which has been found at Susa, Samarra, and Rhages, though invented in China. A Relief of Hercules, a mediocre work, is tentatively ascribed by Professor Baur to the end of the second century of our era. Hercules stands holding his club in his right hand, and at his left side is a rampant lion. The type resembles that on a coin of Commodus, and Professor Baur suggests that an admirer of that emperor may have worshiped Hercules Commodianus.

The excavations of 1928 were carried on chiefly at the Palmyrene Gate, the interior Redoubt, and the Citadel, but other parts of the site were also examined. Large parts of the Citadel, as well as the walls of the northeastern part of the city, have disappeared, for the Euphrates has washed away the cliff on which they stood. The Palmyrene Gate was a monumental structure with three doorways one behind the other, so that the entrance to the city was triply guarded. Within the towers of the gate are still two rooms, the walls of one of which are covered with inscriptions cut, scratched, or painted by the guards. Other inscriptions are on altars found within the gate, still others on various monuments found in or near it. Of all these the earliest is of 65 A.D., the latest of 262 A.D. The entire site was deserted about the end of the third century. The inscriptions give considerable information about the history of the place during the Roman rule and the short-lived Palmyrene empire and also about the Roman army in Syria.

It is impossible here to do more than call attention to some of the chief features of this book. It is an admirable preliminary publication. Occasionally, in the General Report and even in the discussion of the inscriptions, there seem to be indications of translation from a foreign language, but nothing worse than inelegance results. The illustrations are good, though the plan (fig. 2, from Cumont, pl. II.) is much too small. Further excavations at Dura-Europos are now in progress and will, it may be hoped, be published as promptly and as admirably as those of 1928.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome. By SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, completed and revised by Thomas Ashby. (London: Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. xxiii, 608. 35 s.)

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, professor of Classics in Western Reserve University, much beloved by students, colleagues, and associates, died at sea in August, 1921, on the way to Europe, where he was to have made the American Academy in Rome, School of Classical Studies, his base while he set in order for the press the almost completed material of his

Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome. He had been at work on it for many years, and in order to give it final shape needed only the season in Rome for the study of certain problems in the presence of the actual monuments. The task he was not permitted to carry out was generously assumed by Dr. Thomas Ashby, and the result is this monumental volume.

Professor Platner made the study of the ancient city of Rome his life work. His *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome,* published in 1904, and revised in 1911 to include rewritings made necessary by fresh discovery, was the product of long and devoted study in America and Rome, and has remained the standard reference work in English and the best textbook on the subject in any language. The *Topographical Dictionary* may be described as *Topography and Monuments* in another form, though it is in reality both less and more than that. The earlier work, after preparatory general chapters on Sources, General Topography of Rome and the Campagna, Building Materials and Methods, the Tiber and its Bridges, Aqueducts and Sewers, and Walls, Gates, and Roads, continued with thirteen chapters in systematic exposition of the fourteen regions of the city. The *Topographical Dictionary* presents in alphabetical arrangement all buildings and places of the ancient city known either from existing remains or from literary, epigraphical, or numismatic sources, with condensed critical account of location, measurements, identification, history, associations, sources, and bibliography. It is less than *Topography and Monuments* because it lacks in part the general information so conveniently given in its first chapters, and it is more because it brings the archaeology of the city of Rome up to date by incorporating the contributions of excavation and study for the eighteen years that have passed since the revision of the earlier work. The names of Christian Huelsen, Bartoli, Lugli, Mrs. Strong, Lanciani, Albert Van Buren, Bagnani, and Richmond, mentioned in the preface, with others distributed in the text, and, most of all, the name of Dr. Ashby himself, are a striking indication both of the array of scholarly talent engaged of recent years in the field of Roman archaeology and of the amount of revision and addition necessary to the preparation of the work for the press. It is fortunate indeed that so great an authority as Thomas Ashby was willing to undertake the task. It would be a service of no less merit if some one would now revise Platner's *Topography and Monuments* for the use of the less mature and less special student of Rome, who lacks at present a convenient and up-to-date manual. GRANT SHOWERMAN.

L'Empire Romain. Par EUGÈNE ALBERTINI, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, Directeur des Antiquités de l'Algérie. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Générale, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac, vol. IV.] (Paris: Alcan. 1929. Pp. 462. 50 fr.)

THIS history of the Roman Empire, which is a sequel to Piganiol's *La Conquête Romaine,* reveals many of the good qualities of its precursor:

clarity, compactness, good organization, and a preference for facts over hypotheses. While the book contains not much over four hundred pages of matter, it is so frugal in adjectival and other comment that it covers the field with surprising success. The range of interest is exceedingly broad. Political history naturally receives full attention, but the chapters devoted to social conditions, economics, religion, literature, and art are generally in right proportion. Like the other volumes of the series, it has practically no references to sources—though the author knows his sources well—but the selected bibliography (*ouvrages à consulter*) appended to every chapter, is catholic, well chosen and up-to-date.

Albertini, through his many researches in the problems of Roman Africa and Spain, has acquired a good knowledge of provincial administration and archaeology which has enriched his work. His several chapters on Christianity also reveal the deep understanding that comes from researching in the African province. In conformity with the plan of the series for which he has written he has given illuminating references to countries outside of his field, especially to India, Persia, and China. Thus one acquires some comprehension of the reasons for Rome's eastern commerce and one learns something about the Huns before meeting them within the empire.

There is a certain lack of vitality about the work which is probably due to the plan of the whole and to exigencies of space rather than to want of imagination. It provides, in fact, a series of disjunctive descriptions of conditions that fail to disclose causal connections. In this he has been true enough to his sources, which are disjunctive and chary of generalities. But when a history is written without references it is apparently intended for the general reader, and he desires and deserves some hints as to what it is all about. The data available for large parts of Roman history are so devoid of meaning to one who does not know their setting that the austere formula of bare historical recording usually proves futile. And there has been much fruitful interpretation in recent years—one need only mention Rostovtzeff's name—which has successfully penetrated into the meaning of seemingly isolated facts. Albertini, who reveals a knowledge of all the recent discussions, betrays few signs of having been affected by them. So while one trusts his scholarship and admires his objectivity, frugality, and steady conservatism, one misses in his work any expression of opinion on questions now frequently under discussion in the field,—unless indeed his silence implies an adverse judgment on the hypotheses recently offered.

In view of the wide range of subjects covered, it is perhaps unfair to remark that the paragraphs devoted to literature reveal far less penetration than the excellent ones on art, and that the "imperial cult" is described in the phraseology of Beurlier's antiquated monograph. One may also object that the westward invasion of the mystery cults can not be discussed without reference to the racial and social provenance of those who carried the cults westward. The assumption of a universal appetite for such mysticism is a question-begging hypothesis of the kind that the author would avoid unless it were gray with age. The bare enumeration of known facts about commerce, industry, and finances is perhaps all we have a right to ask for here, but the very enumeration places trifles on a level with important facts when they are stripped bare of interpretative comment. Some readers will also feel that Septimius Severus has been given too high a pedestal and that Caracalla's famous edict hardly deserves the flattering construction given it by Albertini.

However, the book is a remarkably accurate statement of what is known, and if at times the reader gets bewildered in the maze of gloomy details, that is in the main the fault of the subject not of the author. The history of the Empire is like that. It is an ugly and confused tragedy with no illuminating prologue and no explicative epilogue.

Tenney Frank.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Middle Ages. By Edward Maslin Hulme. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1929. Pp. x, 851. $5.50.)

This book has a special claim on the interest of American students of the Middle Ages. It is based, the author says, on the outlines which Professor Burr had printed for the use of his students at Cornell University. Thus it presents, through the genial medium of the author's own knowledge and appreciation of the Middle Ages, a permanent record of the influence of one of the masters of medieval studies in this country.

Quite apart from this consideration, the work is welcome for itself, as an additional entry in the field of recent books on the Middle Ages, each of which has its own characteristic scope, proportions, and measure of values. In this book, the Middle Ages begin with the declining Roman Empire and end with the thirteenth century—from Constantine to Dante, to take the personages that figure in the first and last pages. Within this reach, the proportional treatment is indicated by the division of the book into two parts, the Rise of New Rome (through Charlemagne), and the Feudal Age, which occupy respectively one-third and two-thirds of the space. To look at it from another angle, just one-half of the book is devoted to the period before 1100, which may be considered as the time of preparation for the Great Middle Age of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Social and cultural features predominate to an unusual degree. Of the thirty chapters only twelve are concerned mainly with narrative history and political institutions. An actual count of pages shows one-third of the contents devoted to what may be called political history, two-thirds to social and cultural. Because of this emphasis, and because of the length of the book (800 pages of text, exclusive of bibliographies), the author has been able to give an unusually full treatment to many interesting topics. Noteworthy among these are: the early development of the Church, the Church Fathers (Athanasius through Gregory I.), the

Koran and the beliefs of Islam, Byzantine and Saracen civilizations in the age of the Crusades, social and cultural results of the Crusades, chivalry, the Franciscans, and vernacular literatures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The point of view is largely that of Latin Europe. There is an excellent chapter on the fusion of races and civilizations in the "Romanic countries", but no adequate treatment of the civilizing of the Germanic part of the Carolingian Empire. The treatment of the origins of feudalism is rather too Roman and legalistic. It is a little startling to find no English history at all.

Inevitably, in so full a book, there are a few statements and judgments which will be questioned. In the light of Halphen's critical studies, Einhard's *Life* may no longer be characterized without qualification as the most valuable of all the original sources for the history of Charlemagne (p. 274). The attractive theory of the popular evolution of the *chansons de geste* (pp. 809 ff.) has been seriously undermined by Bédier's work. Godfrey of Bouillon (pp. 458, 541) is a legendary rather than an historical figure. The reader is likely to get a false impression of the communal movement in France from the statement that "it was Philip Augustus who really created the communes in that country" (p. 624).

Edgar H. McNeal.

Anna Comnena, a Study. By Georgina Buckler. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. ix, 558. $8.50.)

Mrs. Buckler's book is an elaborate study of the most distinguished woman writer of whom Byzantine literature can boast. It deals with all aspects of her work, and endeavors to give both a picture of Anna's personality and an analysis of her work as an historian. The book has been written with great care and is obviously based upon a great amount of minute investigation and of wide reading in the contemporary writers. Modern investigations are liberally adduced, though certain gaps occur in the author's utilization of Russian literature: we can note in this connection Vasiliev's important essay on "Byzantium and the Pechenegs". The book is divided into six main sections: Introduction, Anna as a Personality, Anna as a Character, Anna and Education, Anna as Historian, Anna as Writer.

The second section largely deals with such personal details as can be extracted from her history. Mrs. Buckler does not advance any theory or produce new facts which cast further light upon the extreme aversion entertained by Anna toward her brother John. The third section is the one which is most open to criticism. Anna's remarks on matters falling within the scope of the three theological virtues and the four cardinal virtues are analyzed and discussed in great detail. While treatment of this sort may add a certain amount to our knowledge of the Byzantine *Weltanschauung*, the schematic and topical assembling of abstract aphorisms or banal generalizations on such topics avail us little in estimating

Anna's character. They also go to show that in the main she differed in no way from her rhetorically trained Byzantine contemporaries. More emphasis on the parallels and differences between Anna and her contemporaries would have been helpful. It seems to me also unfortunate that the distinction between historians and chroniclers so well laid down by Krumbacher has not been maintained. The material contained in the section on Education is interesting, but would have been, I think, improved had the general history of the tradition of classical authors in Constantinople been taken more into account.

The fifth section which deals with Anna's historiography is the most important part of the book. Many interesting observations are made on points of detail, and interesting material gathered together on general topics. The most unsatisfactory discussion is that of heretical doctrines (pp. 315 ff.) which contain many questionable statements. It is extremely difficult to disentangle the various gnostic and half-gnostic sects even in the early stages of Christianity; when we come down to dealing with Byzantine conceptions of what the doctrines of these heretics actually portend, we find ourselves as completely at sea as were the Byzantines themselves.

The discussion of military affairs is very much better and especially the chronology of the Durazzo campaign is extremely well treated. The section closes with a collection of the material on foreign affairs which centralizes much useful information. The final section of the book is devoted to a succinct but interesting study of Anna's language, which is stimulating but somewhat too compressed.

A good bibliography and an excellent index complete the book. The typographical execution of the book is impeccable, as one expects from the Oxford Press.

The book represents in general a revaluation of Anna as an historian and as a person in contrast to Chalandon's disparaging view of her. Like most apologies, it tends to mitigate too much, and certain items are discounted on the basis of feminine psychology, which are perhaps deserving of a sterner assessment. Mrs. Buckler shows beyond cavil that the historical worth of the Alexiad is greater than historians have believed. The strictures passed above are in no way intended to depreciate the stimulating and interesting treatment to which the imperial lady historian has now fallen heir.

Robert P. Blake.

Les Papes et les Ducs de Bretagne: Essai sur les Rapports du Saint Siège avec un État. Par B.-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, Ancien Membre de l'École Française de Rome, Docteur ès Lettres. Deux tomes. (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1928. Pp. xxiv, 942. 100 fr.)

In these two volumes Dr. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé has attempted to define the status of the dukes of Brittany in their negotiations with the

Holy See. Did they regard themselves as sovereigns, and were they so regarded by the popes? This question the subtitle effectively answers. Brittany was a state, a kind of secondary monarchy of a type well known in Italy and Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but often misunderstood in France. The great feudatories there were neither rebels nor traitors; the duchies had developed along the same lines as the monarchy, and no duke of Brittany of the period could have believed that his state would ever be absorbed by France.

The first volume begins with the foundation of an independent Brittany by Nomenoë, and ends with the death of John IV. in 1399; the second begins with the reign of John V., and ends with the two marriages of the Duchess Anne. The reign of each duke from Pierre Mauclerc on is carefully examined and every relation with Rome detailed. A wealth of archival material is used to good advantage, and though the author apologizes for what he calls an interminable analysis, he is right in insisting that only thus can the interplay of forces be precisely measured, and the interacting interests of the bishops, of the duke, of the pope, and of the King of France revealed. The emphasis is always on Brittany; it is a study of the relations of the dukes of Brittany with the popes rather than of relations between the popes and the dukes of Brittany.

From the Breton angle the first period, from Pierre Mauclerc through John III. (1341), is relatively unimportant. No great issue was raised except that of the independence of the Breton bishops; the dukes in establishing their power repeatedly encroached upon the bishops's rights, and the bishops carried to Rome a singular theory of not holding their temporalities from the duke. Through this period Rome consistently aided French influence peacefully to penetrate Brittany, though at the same time (1288) the popes definitely acknowledged the right of the lords of Brittany to the ducal title.

The fourteenth century brought the Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy, the war between England and France, and the succession war in Brittany, and completely changed the situation as between the dukes and the popes. Now a magnificent opportunity was created for an independent Brittany, and the Montforts carried Brittany far along the way to independence by cleverly exploiting the difficulties of the papacy and of France. The Concordat of Redon (1441) which bound the Breton church close to Rome, was a gesture of independence from France at a time when Gallicanism was rampant there, and in 1450 Pierre II. went still further than the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges by issuing an ordinance forbidding the publication of papal bulls without a license from the duke. In the many controversies of Breton bishops at Rome during the long reign of Francis II., chief interest attached to the efforts of Louis XI. to dominate the situation. Francis II.'s reign ended in war with France, and the survey of the relations of the dukes of Brittany with the popes is concluded by the negotiations with Innocent VIII. for the marriages of Anne and peace with France.

PAUL B. SCHAEFFER.

François II., Duc de Bretagne et l'Angleterre, 1458–1488. Par B.-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, Ancien Membre de l'École Française de Rome, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1929. Pp. 543. 25 fr.)

Duke Francis II. of Brittany grew up under influences that made him a loyal supporter of the French crown; and in his first years as duke exemplified this loyalty quite satisfactorily to Charles VII. But as is well known, in the reign of Louis XI. he formed an alliance with England and continued therewith through many vicissitudes. Why did this duke of Brittany take such a course? What people, interests, issues were involved? What came of it for Brittany and France?

Questions like these are handled here with high competence. M. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé has published since 1916 articles on Brittany's past; and in 1928 took his doctorate in letters with two finely done volumes on the papacy's relations with Brittany during the Middle Ages. He is able to treat, then, of Francis II.'s time not only with practiced skill in the varied pertinent sources but also with extraordinary grasp of all the setting. He conducts a delicate inquiry with commendable objectivity and many useful results.

Francis II. appears to have cultivated alliance with England only very reluctantly, because it seemed a way of escape from Louis XI. Brittany under the Montforts, while remaining French rather than English, certainly moved toward independence of the French crown. When Francis II. acceded as duke he could acknowledge vassalage to France readily enough, but he interpreted the obligations from such vassalage to be little more than honorary. Actual government in Brittany, he considered, belonged purely to the duke; was to be carried on either by him or under his authority. The crown though had an age-old program for government by or under the king. And Louis XI. brought this program to Francis II.'s attention in brusque, brutal, scheming, even disloyal fashion. Francis II. and other Bretons were wanted as subjects, not as allies.

In Brittany ran strongly conflicting currents. Many people were Francophiles; numerous others resented the sacrifices they had to make to ducal centralizing; Louis XI. found many sympathetic ears, many gaping purses, some even at the ducal court. And Francis II. was no sort of person to take the initiative, to frame a policy and mold affairs accordingly. This rôle in his behalf fell chiefly to Peter Landais, rich cloth merchant and banker serving officially as treasurer and receiver-general. Landais apparently took his cue from the relative prosperity that had come to Brittany through being neutral and independent in the long war of France and England; he thought the duchy should remain independent and he urged alliance with England for economic prosperity and political security. On such course this "Richelieu of Brittany" guided his little country and Francis II. supported him loyally.

The plan possibly might have had somewhat different fortune had the government of England not proved so unstable. The royal régime there, in the period of Francis II.'s dukedom, underwent six violent changes. So the scaffolding for alliance kept falling down, and the diplomats had constantly to try its rebuilding. Meantime a less brusque and more generous management arrived for the crown's affairs in France. And when Francis II. finally met decisive reverses, and death, Brittany could soon after honorably give up the separate course, and join abidingly with France. The policy of independence really was without promise. Her final struggles seem to have brought Brittany at least one great profit: she came into the French family with her own institutions so respected that these could survive several more centuries.

At the end comes a chapter for which the author is rather apologetic. But students will probably welcome it as among the freshest and most enlightening sections of the work. It shows just what sorts or lines of commercial activity were carried on between England and Brittany of that time, and how the governments on each side reacted thereto. One can see thus what the economic factors in the case really were.

E. W. Dow.

Les Baillis Comtaux de Flandre: des Origines à la Fin du XIVe Siècle. Par H. Nowé, Archiviste de la Ville de Gand. (Brussels: Marcel Hayez, for the Royal Academy of Belgium. 1928. Pp. 633. 65 fr.)

More than twenty years ago Professor Pirenne pointed out that there existed no scientific study on the origin of the Flemish baillis, and he predicted that such a study would be one of the most interesting works in the constitutional history of the Low Countries. One of his pupils has now supplied the lack which Pirenne then noted, and has verified his master's prediction. This work is, in a measure, a continuation of Pirenne's study of the Flemish notaries, and an elaboration of the same scholar's hypothesis that the baillis were transformed notaries. It also carries on the study of institutional development begun by Blommaert's *Les Châtelaines de Flandre.*

Although some study of particular places had been made, this investigation is really a pioneering venture in which the author presents a wealth of new material from the archives of Brussels, Ghent, and Lille, and utilizes effectively the numerous printed collections of documents. Most important are the baillis's accounts, particularly those of the fourteenth century, from which the author has drawn much of his material, and which he indicates as a mine of information on constitutional, political and social history.

M. Nowé demonstrates that, while the name bailli was borrowed from France, and while the establishment of this official on the domain lands arose from similar causes in France and in Flanders, nevertheless the creation of these officials was not in imitation of the French kings. He points out that the Flemish baillis, being each resident alone in a locality, were more like the English sheriffs, than like the original French baillis, who resembled the English itinerant justices. Dismissing as legendary the annalist's assertion that Baldwin V. created the bailli in 1036, he advances the theory that there was no definite constitutional act creating this new official. The bailli, he holds, was "probably only a transformation of a domainial officer exercising his functions since the eleventh century in the different judicial and domainial centers of the principality". The new title appears in Flanders during the second half of the twelfth century, and the baillis gradually replace the castellans.

Most of the book is devoted to an analysis of the various forms of authority and jurisdiction exercised by these baillis during the medieval period, and particularly during the fourteenth century. No student of medieval institutions can fail to find this informing. The author's apologies for the repetitions resulting from his method of presentation are quite needless. Not only does one get here a most useful and thorough description of the work of a single official, but one also gets many interesting side lights on the Flemish communes and their relation to the count's government. Furthermore the scholar interested in the Burgundian state of the fifteenth century will find here important contributions to the origins of some of those administrative institutions which made the Valois dukes so powerful. Of particular interest is the long chapter, nearly one-third of the whole book, on the coöperation of the baillis with the courts of justice.

The apparatus is elaborate and erudite. A bibliography of about two hundred titles without commentary is presented. Lists are compiled of all the Flemish baillis in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A quarter of the book is devoted to *pièces justificatives* mostly from the Ghent archives. There is a special article on the water bailli at Sluys, a unique official. There is an excellent map of fourteenth century Flanders based upon information drawn from the baillis's accounts. An extensive index concludes this model of monographic scholarship.

Richard A. Newhall.

Les Débuts de l'Age Moderne: la Renaissance et la Réforme. Par Henri Hauser, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, et Augustin Renaudet, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Générale, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac, vol. VIII.] (Paris: Alcan. 1929. Pp. 639. 60 fr.)

That politics and religion are not the two foci around which the orbit of history revolves is now universally admitted. It is therefore to be expected that the general history of an epoch should devote much space to economic, social, cultural, and intellectual matters. The present work will not disappoint the expectations of the reader in this regard. In fact, the place taken by the story of the arts, of letters, and of science is greater in this volume than in any other of the series in which it appears; and the space accorded to economic developments is very large. The geographical limits of the treatment are practically conterminous with those of the globe. Not only the history of European exploration but the annals of the Asiatic empires are summarized and the culture of the American Indians is set forth. Nevertheless, even this extensive survey of mankind is not quite universal. There is nothing on the history of superstition, so prominent in the life of the sixteenth century; nothing, except what emerges incidentally to the treatment of the inquisition, on persecution and tolerance. There is little or nothing on the life, manners, morals, dress, and customs of the people. The most serious lack is that of demographical statistics of any kind. Some attempt, even with the imperfect materials at hand, should have been made to estimate the size and movements of the population of the various countries.

The names of the authors guarantee the high quality of the work both as to substance and to form. A profound knowledge of the sources, a wide reading of modern writers on the field, a sober judgment, a philosophic interest in general ideas, and a readable style characterize the contributions of both the collaborators. The literature cited, though abundant, is necessarily only a selection from a vast mass of material. Though it is perhaps captious to point out omissions, it is permissible to say that among the few books of capital importance ignored by the authors, are Olschki's *Geschichte der Neusprachlichen Wissenschaftlichen Literatur,* Fueter's *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie,* Strieder's *Studien zur Geschichte Kapitalistischer Organisationsformen,* Dannemann's *Die Naturwissenschaften in ihrer Entwicklung,* Klein's *The Mesta,* and Van Dyke's biographies of *Catherine de Médicis* and of *Loyola.*

The period treated is that from the first voyage of Columbus to the beginnings of the French and Dutch wars of religion. The view that this era saw the beginnings of the modern world is sustained by pointing to the revolutions, intellectual, religious, and economic, that then took place. The growth of individualism, the first victories of capitalism, the unification of the globe under the impact of European expansion, produced, or announced, the beginning of a new season in the world's great year. Another new factor in the composition of modern civilization, noticed but hardly enough emphasized by the authors, was the rebirth of science in the works of Copernicus and Vesalius.

The division of the labor between the collaborators is that for which their previous studies and present interests naturally fit them. In eleven chapters M. Hauser narrates the story of exploration and of the extra-European nations, and presents the significant steps of the economic revolution. In nine chapters M. Renaudet expounds the intellectual and religious developments. Nothing is more worthy of praise in this admirable book than the masterly manner in which politics are subordinated to the larger categories of contemporary culture. Political history is here treated, as it always should be but seldom is, as the adjunct and consequence of antecedent social and intellectual shifts, instead of as the mainspring of historic causation.

While every student of the period will profit by careful reading of this work, there are some who may venture to dispute a few of the authors's statements, or judgments, in particular matters. One of the dangers of the passion for using the very latest researches in a field of reference is that the user may accept hazardous views not duly sifted by criticism. In my judgment M. Hauser is wrong in accepting (p. 97) Kalkoff's daring thesis that Frederic of Saxony was elected emperor on June 27, 1519, and compelled to abdicate the next day by a *coup d'état* of Charles. This idea has found little acceptance with German scholars, and has been decisively refuted by Kirn and others. Nor can I quite follow M. Renaudet's account of Luther's development (p. 165), based though the account is on some of the latest works of scholarship. It is clearly wrong to imply that Staupitz ever belonged to the Observant wing of the Augustinians. One of the crucial facts in Luther's spiritual education is that, though he was sent to Rome as an agent of the Observant convents against Staupitz and the Conventuals, he changed sides, probably at Rome, joined Staupitz, and turned rather fiercely against the Observants in whom he came to see the exponents of "good works" rather than of lively faith.

While the admirers of Leonardo and of Erasmus will welcome the brilliant portraits of both men painted by M. Renaudet, cooler judges will be apt to think that he has slightly overestimated the scientific achievements of the former and the influence of the latter, great as both of them undoubtedly were.

Some scholars will even be bold enough to remain dissatisfied with M. Hauser's explanation of the economic revolution as due to "a profound psychological cause . . . in the taste for earthly enjoyment, for luxury and intellectual pleasure, . . . in a word in the love of life" (p. 305). To explain a new development in terms of an old, or constant, cause is surely impossible. The appetite for pleasure, bodily and mental, has presumably been about the same in all generations. But changing social arrangements, which arise in altered conditions, by curbing the passions in one age and stimulating them in another, give rise to the apparent variations in the spiritual atmosphere.

The account of Margaret of Navarre's relations with the Reformers and with the Libertins (p. 292) may be supplemented by consulting two letters bearing on the subject published in the last few years. One of these is the letter of Luther to Margaret printed in Enders's edition of the Reformer's correspondence, vol. XVIII., p. 54; the other is a letter of Farel to Calvin, first published in the *Harvard Theological Review*, 1919, pp. 206 ff.

But though a microscope might reveal other flaws in the texture of the book, the work as a whole will prove delightful, instructive, and even indispensable to every student of the Renaissance and of the Reformation.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century: Studies in the History of Medicine and Surgery, Natural and Mathematical Science, Philosophy, and Politics. By LYNN THORNDIKE. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. Pp. xiv, 387. $4.75.)

PROFESSOR THORNDIKE'S new volume is well printed and the pages are a comfort to handle, small matters, yet adding greatly to the attractiveness of a volume, especially one with many necessary footnotes which must be consulted. I have not found a single printer's error.

The form is a collection of essays having no necessary relation to each other, save that deeper continuity, in the author's mind, of fifteenth century thought. The reader must expect to encounter separate explorations, as stated in the subtitle, not a balanced dissertation on the subject at large as the title itself seems to imply. One therefore approaches the book as one would go to original sources, without thought or expectation of continuity.

The first chapter is the only one which gives a general survey. It displays freshness of thought and characteristic originality of presentation most helpful to the reader who desires, above all, to obtain a correct appreciation of the kind of contribution the Middle Ages made to the progress of thought and knowledge. Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Leonardo were not giants stalking head and shoulders above their fellows, but were typical of their period, leaders in thought it may be, but demonstrating the vigor of their times rather than monstrous geniuses owing nothing to their fellows. The healthiness of this outlook is obvious.

The second chapter on Medicine versus Law is an able presentation of a philosophic theme characteristic of the period, wearisome only to those whose modern minds have no use for disputations.

Then follow four essays on medieval medicine, fascinating in their human interest. As a physician, the present reviewer is most drawn to these essays, especially the last, a fifteenth century autopsy by Bernard Tornius. The author has handled all with sympathetic insight and has given Latin texts, in the form of appendixes, in which the reader may check the English rendering. In providing this detail the author has done us a real service for there are necessarily obscure points which can be clarified only by reference to the Latin context. This may be true enough in other fields of study: it is certainly necessary in medical works. Astronomy, arithmetic, philosophy, political science appear in successive chapters and, like those on medicine, give new light and enlarged comprehension to the student who seeks special information in these fields.

Professor Thorndike is a careful writer, not a popular one. His insistence on all possible exactitude gives the student confidence in his statements. It will not win the superficial or omnivorous. Hence the book is not suitable for a general reader who is unprepared to delve deep and carefully. It is essentially a book for the student who desires information beyond the borders of current knowledge. The author has brought before us his happy finds in places almost inaccessible and has given opportunity to the student who yearns most to have it. He knows well how the student requires to consult the original text and he has surrounded the text with an embroidery of his own great knowledge and experience in research.

T. WINGATE TODD.

Jean Calvin: les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps. Par E. DOUMERGUE. Tome VII. (Lausanne: G. Bridel et Cie.; Paris: Editions de "la Cause". 1927. Pp. 581. 120 fr.)

As I had the honor of introducing to readers of this *Review* the first three volumes of Doumergue's monumental work (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, VII. 350; IX. 797; XII. 127) it is a privilege to describe the author's crowning achievement. The whole now forms a veritable encyclopedia of Calvinism, which, as Professor Henri Hauser says in the *Revue Historique,* must be consulted wherever Calvinistic thought is a subject of study. Before dealing with volume VII., a few words must be said about volumes V. and VI. Volume IV. on *La Pensée Religieuse* may be left to the theologians. In volume V., *La Pensée Ecclésiastique et la Pensée Politique,* the author argues the Calvinistic origin of modern democracy, finding its conceptions in the 1536 edition of the *Institutes,* more clearly in subsequent editions, and discerning the lineaments of modern democratic thought in the last, still unprinted, sermons of the reformer. My criticism of this is that Calvin as a good Frenchman at the time he came to Geneva was, and long remained, a loyal subject of his king. Geneva had already on May 21, 1536, before he arrived, in a memorable town meeting of citizens ratified the edicts of reformation, thus exercising supreme power in church and state. It is as a result of his experience of Swiss institutions in Geneva that Calvin's ideas became more democratic. Volume VI., *La Lutte,* once more demonstrates with precision that the famous letters from Geneva which caused the first arrest of Servetus at Vienne were not dictated nor even inspired by Calvin. Having set forth the latter's exact share in the condemnation Dean Doumergue finally mentions the erection in 1903 of an expiatory stone on the spot where Servetus was burned. I must add that he took a leading share in the planning of that monument and is the author of the inscription.

We come now to volume VII., *Le Triomphe,* which not only contains a detailed relation of the five last years of Calvin's life but the gist of the author's own studies during his whole career concerning the influence which the great reformer exercised from Geneva in the different countries of Europe. Here is to be found the most complete account of the giant's work, an account given by the man who is undoubtedly of all living Calvinists the best informed upon the writings and correspondence of Calvin.

The reader must, however, regret that Dean Doumergue could not enjoy to the end of his voluminous publication the help of able friends who, like the late Genevan scholar Théophile Dufour, carefully revised the first volumes. Many misprints would have been avoided which sometimes render the sense of his thought obscure. For example, he quotes a sentence from my *Histoire de l'Université de Genève* designed to visualize the reformer's activity, who in war times was wont to lead his students to the walls of the Huguenot city, encouraging them to handle the pickax and the shovel and strengthen the ramparts: "L'oeuvre à laquelle il conduit, étrange contre-maitre, cette équipe d'ouvriers singulière est l'image frappante de celle de sa vie." In Doumergue's volume these words appear as, "L'*heure* à laquelle il conduit . . . cette équipe d'ouvriers singulier*s* . . . ", which of course totally spoils the meaning.

The lack of a renewed stay at Geneva, which the war and its sequences made impossible to the venerable dean of Montauban, is the more noticeable in this seventh volume, where he had to deal with the thorny question of the reformer's struggle against the local opposition of the Perrinists, called Libertins by their adversaries. Unable to verify for himself the original records of the council and tribunals, he is led to long discussions of the accounts of Genevan historians whom he wishes to controvert, where a simple appeal to the sources, with necessary excerpts, would determine the matter. Taking Calvin's side with the eloquence of a counsel he is rather too prone to see unfairness in the judgments of those he fights under the generic name of "les historiens" and now and then does not take sufficient notice of all they have to say in favor of the fugitives who fled from town "in order to maintain the liberties of Geneva", as Gaspard Favre, one of the Perrinists, declared in his will.

Calvin's triumph demanded the crushing of local opposition, and to effect this, the opening of the rolls of citizenship to his disciples from the world at large. Resistance was inevitable. It was led by the very men who a quarter of a century before stood fiercely for Genevan independence and reformation. They used the same means, expecting the same success. But, since Calvin's return from Strassburg, the city of their ancestors was no more what it had been and they did not discern the great future which Calvinism prepared for their descendants. To become the mecca of religious refugees Geneva ceased to be the town of the older Genevese. This was the political work of Calvin. His reformed commonwealth gained an endless power of assimilation. The refugees from France and from Italy, who soon crowded within its walls, were bound to it by all the deepest impulses of their being, and became at once most faithful citizens. This was not the country of their fathers, but, like New England to the Pilgrims, it was the country of their children.

Geneva and its spiritual founder never found a biographer like Dean Doumergue. One remains amazed at the amount of science, art, and tenacity he devoted to the fulfilment of the task which he planned on an unprecedented scale. I must add, however, that a work in seven folios needs to be indexed.

Charles Borgeaud.

A History of European Diplomacy, 1451–1789. By R. B. Mowat, Professor of History in the University of Bristol. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1929. Pp. viii, 311. $6.00.)

It is a difficult task to relate the history of European diplomacy from the Burgundian wars of Charles the Bold to those of the French Revolution within the compass of a single volume of 300 pages. Much less solidly constructed than Emile Bourgeois's familiar *Manuel Historique*, less well informed than the Below-Meinecke *Handbücher* by Fueter, Platzhoff, and Immich, Mowat's volume nevertheless constitutes a fair and useful outline of the diplomacy of the period, although one marred by serious errors and omissions. It can scarcely be called an original study. One misses a reflective analysis, not merely of the principles of diplomacy as practiced since the days of Machiavelli, of the relation of diplomacy to military strategy or to the wider background of national, dynastic, and personal interests, but of the diplomatic events themselves. The chapters on the Italian wars and the Counter-Reformation, excellent as they are on England and France, scarcely do justice to Spain from Ferdinand of Aragon to Philip II. Less satisfactory still is the section on the Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia. The revival of Spanish diplomacy, the obsequious subservience of the Austrian Hapsburgs to the Spanish branch of the family and its fateful consequences for the Franco-German border problem are not adequately discussed. Gustavus Adolphus is dropped abruptly after the battle of Breitenfeld when his diplomacy becomes both interesting and important. Wallenstein's negotiations with Saxony, later codified in the Peace of Prague, 1635, are not mentioned. Richelieu, the overtowering diplomatic figure of the war, is dispatched in a few brief paragraphs. Since W. Mommsen has written his *Richelieu im Elsass* (1924) it is no longer possible to maintain, as Mr. Mowat does (p. 105), that from the beginning Richelieu's aim was to acquire Alsace. In giving the terms under which the Hapsburg rights in Alsace were ceded to France in the Peace of Westphalia, Mr. Mowat is neither precise as to what was meant, the office or the territory, nor does he indicate what the possible interpretations of these terms were. In justice to Mr. Mowat it should be said that the quality of the narrative measureably improves after 1648. The diplomacy of Louis XIV. is brilliantly set forth. Yet critical students of eighteenth century diplomacy will be contented neither with the treatment of Prussia, nor with the chapter on the Reversal of Alliances in 1756, least of all with the account of the Partition of Poland. Mr. Mowat does not seem to be aware that Frederick the Great's *Mémoires* are an utterly untrustworthy source on the Partition of Poland. It was not the Austrian occupation of Zips that supplied the first impulse to the partition (p. 274). This came neither from Frederick nor from Catherine II., but from Prince Henry of Prussia while on a visit to St. Petersburg. It was after Prince Henry's return to Berlin that the Prussian monarch was converted to the plan of partition which he proposed to Catherine II. on February

20, 1771 (*Politische Correspondenz Friedrichs des Grossen*, XXX. 482). The proof-reading has not been carefully done: it was not Charles V. (p. 212) but Charles VI. who agreed to the Quadruple Alliance of 1718; the name of the Austrian general mentioned on page 253 is Laudon not Laudohn; it was Bavaria not Bohemia (p. 264) which Charles Theodore was to inherit in 1779.

Walter L. Dorn.

Histoire de la Nation Française. Dirigée par Gabriel Hanotaux. Tome IX. *Histoire Diplomatique, 1515–1928*. Par René Pinon, Professeur à l'École des Sciences Politiques. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1929. Pp. 646. 85 fr.)

In the last fifteen years, there has been nothing so remarkable in historical scholarship as the amount of time and effort devoted to the study of the history of diplomacy and of international affairs. The Great War inevitably gave an impulsion to this movement and may indeed almost be said to have created it; and the large amount of authentic official documents which have been "released" by the foreign offices of the Great Powers has, naturally, stimulated the interest in the study of diplomacy.

Most of the diplomatic histories deal with the war or its origins. M. Pinon's work extends much farther back, and it has only one chapter, number XII., on the war and the period after the war. In contrast, therefore, with the fairly leisurely account given of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in French diplomacy, the space allotted to the late nineteenth and to the twentieth centuries appears somewhat meager.

Being one in the many volumes of the *History of the French Nation*, edited by M. Hanotaux, M. Pinon's work is nothing if not national; indeed the substantial and interesting introductory matter in the volume might be called a treatise on the origin and meaning of nationalism. It seems wholly to adopt the view which Thomas Hobbes described in the *Leviathan*, the view of nations as competitive and warlike entities, living with regard to each other in a "State of Nature". There is a great deal in M. Pinon's early pages about *l'effort total de la nation pour vivre et s'épandre*. There is a continual "urge" in the people to defend itself and to extend itself. Continuity of effort for a nation as for an individual is taken as the law and the criterion of a wholesome existence. A nation must be always on the *qui vive* against neighbors ready to pounce upon it; the "garde au Rhin" is a "nécessité permanente". Some readers may be inclined to think that there is a little too much insistence upon the "wolf theory" regarding nations, and also upon a nation's permanent necessity to spread its influence abroad, to *rayonner* upon its neighbors. Indeed, it may perhaps fairly be said that a good many of the pages in this book, if translated into German, would read very like a chapter from Treitschke.

M. Pinon's volume is beautifully composed, clear in exposition and distinguished in style. It is, however, a survey—luminous and persuasive—not so much of French diplomacy as of French policy. It is with the grand and continuous principles on which French monarchs and French foreign ministers have worked that M. Pinon concerns himself. He analyzes, criticizes, justifies or at any rate makes reasonable the attitude of French statesmen in the question of intervention in Italy, or of alliance with Switzerland, or of French participation in Imperial elections, or in the affairs of the Crown of Poland. Everything goes to show a great, accumulative body of coherent tradition in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or in the offices which were the predecessors of that ministry; but of the day-to-day work of diplomacy, of the means by which ambassadors were chosen, trained and paid; how they dispatched their business, how they organized their official relations—of these things the book tells little. As a defense and exposition of French policy it is striking; as an account of the inner working of French diplomacy and of the diplomatic service, it is disappointing.

The first big episode with which M. Pinon deals is the prolonged contest with the Hapsburg or Austro-Spanish power in the sixteenth century. This the author calls "la lutte pour la vie contre la Maison d'Autriche". He defends the Italian policy of Francis I. and Henry II. as a necessary part of this struggle for existence. To control Savoy and Piedmont or Milan was to break the line of communications between Spain and Austria, and was in fact to effect a breach in the "ring" in which France was so inflexibly circumscribed. Arguing from this point of view M. Pinon deplores the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, the great peace of 1559, by which France surrendered her hold upon Savoy and most of her strong places in Italy. The "great decision" which Sorel imputed to Henry II., the decision to turn his back upon the fatal fascination of Italy, and to concentrate the resources of France upon improving the perilous eastern frontier, is considered worth little attention by M. Pinon. There was nothing original about the eastern policy, he says; he traces it back to the expedition of Charles VII. to Metz and Verdun in 1444; it was therefore nothing new in the time of Henry II., and in any case Henry II. did not understand it. According to M. Pinon, Henry II. hurried into the deplorable peace of Cateau-Cambrésis largely because he was anxious for the return of the Constable Montmorency, who was a prisoner with the Spaniards. "It required the Thirty Years' War to repair the disaster of Cateau-Cambrésis", writes M. Pinon.

In a similar way, in regard to all the great episodes of French foreign policy, M. Pinon adopts an original and suggestive point of view. Speaking of conquering powers he says: "Se faire pardonner d'être victorieux et heureux, c'est l'art suprême." Louis XIV., great diplomatist though he was, had not this art (no more than Bismarck had). Moreover he seriously and sometimes inexplicably blundered as when he allowed William of Orange to sail for England in 1688 and thus to bring that country into the alliance against France. Another blunder was committed when Louis XIV. seized the Barrier Fortresses in 1700 in time of peace, an act which could be defended on grounds of military necessity, but which had deplorable results politically: "European opinion unchained itself against Louis XIV., disturber of the peace." M. Pinon, however, does not condemn the act except as a mistake of political strategy. Likewise, when Louis had his grandson, Philip, the king of Spain, publicly registered in the parlement of Paris as retaining all his rights of succession to the French crown, he made another error and aroused European opinion against France. It was only the publicity of the recognition of Philip's rights to France that was the error: "It would have been easy to maintain the eventual rights of the king of Spain to the crown of France by some secret act" (p. 265). In accepting the crown of Spain for his grandson, Louis was fighting for the rights of peoples, for the Spanish people also accepted Philip. "It was the coalition formed by William III. which went against the right of peoples" (p. 264).

Sometimes the defense of the French point of view tends to become almost comic. England in the War of the Spanish Succession "forms the habit of making war on the Continent with the soldiers of others". When the sovereigns of Prussia or Hanover accept English pay, "they sell their soldiers". In the same war, however, Bavaria and Liége "remain faithful to the French alliance and put their troops, on condition of subsidies, at the disposal of France" (p. 266); it is only the enemies of France who sell soldiers. A similar comparison of passages relating to the American War of Independence gives another curious result. On page 343 the French assistance to the Americans is explained on purely realist grounds: "The men who carried their sword to the Americans thought less of helping the revolutionaries than of beating the English. Choiseul and Louis XV. prepared that war of revenge." On page 619, however, this becomes "the noble intervention of Louis XVI.", in return for which the United States joined in the Great War in 1917 as in a "croisade libératrice".

This large volume is packed with brilliant generalization and skillful marshalling of fact; and although the point of view of the author is distinctly national, French policy comes in for a good deal of criticism. The book is not perhaps entirely friendly in its tone toward France's neighbors but this may be because, naturally, the disputatious side of history occupies much of the documents of the chancelleries. It should be added that M. Pinon's book is magnificently printed and illustrated.

R. B. Mowat.

Wolsey. By A. F. Pollard, M.A., Hon. Litt.D., F.B.A., Director of the London Institute of Historical Research and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. xvi, 393. $5.00.)

This book is soberly bound, heavily laden with learned footnotes and without illustrations. There is not even a cardinal's hat upon the cover. It will be caviar to the general, but no serious student of Tudor history can afford to ignore it for it presents the considered opinion of one of the foremost living authorities on sixteenth century England upon one of the greatest Englishmen of the century. It is not really a biography at all, but rather an attempt to define Wolsey's place in English history.

Dr. Pollard's judgment is severe. He recognizes Wolsey's supreme ability, but finds him altogether lacking in any finer purpose than his own personal power and glory. The guiding principle of his foreign policy, as Dr. Pollard sees it, was not primarily England's prestige or even the maintenance of the balance of power between England's enemies, but rather an identification of English with Roman interests, which had little to justify it except Wolsey's own ambition to be pope, and which drew England into futile and expensive continental alliances. His domestic policy Dr. Pollard finds to have been fundamentally wrong because it was based upon a purely autocratic theory of government and ran directly counter to every established English constitutional principle. Dr. Pollard contrasts Wolsey's utter disregard of the principle of government by consent with Henry VIII.'s skillful manipulation of Parliament and public opinion, and points out that Wolsey's system if it had been perpetuated would have imposed upon England another *ancien régime*, and have ultimately precipitated another revolution. The student of the seventeenth century will rise at this point to inquire whether after all Henry's system rendered England more immune from revolution than Wolsey's. But certainly every one will agree that Wolsey based his whole position upon his prince's favor and did little or nothing to justify in the eyes of the English the autocracy which he imposed.

Dr. Pollard lays great stress upon Wolsey's ecclesiastical connections, believes his papal aspirations to have been a very vital factor in his plans, criticizes his neglect of church reform, and dwells at length upon his efforts as papal legate to establish autocratic control over the English church. The outcome of his policy was to provoke the antagonism of the English clergy, not only against himself for the violation of their liberties, but also against the papal power by virtue of which he acted. Dr. Pollard ascribes to this antagonism the acquiescence of the English clergy in the establishment of royal supremacy and so lays part of the blame for the breach from Rome upon Wolsey's shoulders, although admitting that such an outcome was as far as possible from Wolsey's intent.

The unique character of Wolsey's position, as Dr. Pollard analyzes it, was the combination in his own person of the supreme power of both church and state. Since he derived this power in part from the king and in part from the pope, it placed him in the precarious position of serving two masters, and imposed upon him the necessity of keeping English and Roman policy in harmony. That explains why the divorce case was his undoing. He could neither induce the pope to support the king's position, nor the king to yield to the pope. He could no longer drive his two masters in double harness. Nevertheless, whatever the immediate consequence to him, Dr. Pollard proclaims him to have been "the first who wielded sovereignty in England, because he ruled both church and state". He was therefore, quite unwittingly, destined to furnish the pattern upon which, after his fall, Henry VIII. proceeded to reconstruct the royal power. In that fact Dr. Pollard finds Wolsey's most important contribution to English constitutional development.

Such, very briefly, is Dr. Pollard's estimate of the great cardinal and his work. Space does not serve even to hint at the illumination which the light of his learning sheds upon many points by the way. His treatment of Wolsey's influence upon the Court of Chancery and of Star Chamber is particularly noteworthy. Some of his general conclusions are open to question. Was Wolsey so much of a Roman and so little of an Englishman as Dr. Pollard makes out? The evidence hardly seems sufficient to sustain him upon this point. Was Wolsey so all-powerful during his term of power that we need take no account of the king's own share in the formulation of English policy? Dr. Pollard ignores the question. It should at least have been raised, and it needs to be answered. The pitfall which besets the biographical approach to history is a tendency to over emphasize the hero's part of the drama. With all due respect to this brilliant essay we do not believe Dr. Pollard has quite escaped it.

CONYERS READ.

Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1617–1619. Issued by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1929. Pp. iv, 570. £1 15 s.)

THE period covered by this volume of the Council Register is less significant and interesting than the preceding years. Sir Edward Coke, dismissed as Chief Justice in 1616, and now forgiven and made Privy Councillor, was one of the most active members and was entrusted with much of the important work done by the members outside the Council. Francis Bacon, now Lord Chancellor, was also extremely active but no trace of clash between the two ancient enemies appears in the Register. The king was present in Council only twice; perhaps the influence of James upon the Privy Council has been exaggerated. The chief interest centers about the reform of the household, and of the Wards and Liveries by Cranfield; about the condition of the navy, the forts, the ordnance, and the military equipment available in various parts of England; but there seems to be little new information on any of these issues. Monopolies were being granted, regulated, and investigated during these years and in view of the activities of the House of Commons about them in the following years, this material is interesting and important. Enough has probably not been said about the fact that Coke, who was a member of the Privy Council and therefore presumably consenting to them and approving of their legality, became one of the leaders of the House in 1620/21 and there impugned their legality. This was a "treason" which James and the Privy Council were not likely to condone or forgive. He had done the same before when he declared as Chief Justice that the High Commission and Councils of Wales and of the North, sitting under Letters Patent which he had drawn himself as Attorney General, were illegal. Probably they suspected him of betraying the secrets of the Privy Council to the House of Commons and very probably they were right. Certainly we have here an explanation of Coke's imprisonment in 1622. His speeches in the House were not his real offense.

In February, 1618, the Council ordered the Attorney General to inquire into a meeting of the Justices of the Peace at Norwich (Coke's district) where the granting of subsidies in the next Parliament was discussed and the granting of six subsidies and twelve fifteenths was argued. The fact of the investigation makes it seem improbable that the sentiment was in favor of such a grant (pp. 39–40). There is considerable evidence to show that various bodies of merchants and some of the trading companies were paying money to the king to finance the suppression of pirates and one benevolence was asked for and paid to ransom Christians taken prisoners by the Turks. In each case their consent was asked and given and there is nothing to show that any opposition was made. But it was of course "taxation" without consent of Parliament.

The final episode in Raleigh's life and the official actions taken are given in full and there seem to be one or two minor details that are new about his attempts to escape to France. There is much material on economic history; a long report on the flood control and drainage of the fens (pp. 292–299); something about prison reform (p. 326); much about the making and sale of cloth; and the regulations that new building in London shall be only in brick. Clear evidence appears to prove that the Council was trying to colonize southern Ireland with Protestants (pp. 322–325). Twice an appeal is made to the "lawe of nacions". But of the emigration of the Pilgrims to America and of the important affairs in Virginia in 1619 there is no trace. The usual excellent index is included.

Roland G. Usher.

Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les Traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution Française, publié sous les Auspices de la Commission des Archives Diplomatiques au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Tomes XXIV. (1648–1665), XXV. (1666–1690), *Angleterre,* avec une Introduction et des Notes par J. J. Jusserand, Ambassadeur de France, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1929. Pp. 406, 462. 150 fr.)

It has now been exactly forty-five years since there was begun this extraordinarily valuable publication of the instructions to the French ambassadors and ministers from 1648 to 1789 with the volumes on Austria edited by Sorel. Working through Spain and Prussia, the series has now reached England which has been entrusted to the capable hands of the best qualified of living scholars—or scholars of any time—to edit such a collection. For who better than the author of *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second* could be fitted for the task?

It is a platitude to say that the period here covered—that from 1648 to 1690—is an extremely interesting and important epoch in Anglo-French relationships, including as it does the Cromwellian era, the Restoration, and the Revolution of 1688. Yet its importance, and even its interest, are not those which mark the eighteenth century. This is, so to speak, a chronicle of peace, despite the almost constant expressions of dislike, even of hatred of the English people for the France of Louis XIV. The policy of that country, fixed by Richelieu and continued by Mazarin and by Louis XIV. during this period, was simplicity itself. It was, at almost any cost, to remain on terms of friendship with England under whatever government and whatever provocative circumstances. As M. Jusserand observes: "Jusqu'à la chute des Stuarts, elle garda une fixité extraordinaire. Nos intérêts, les ambitions du Roi, les précédents établis par Richelieu dont la grande ombre demeurait puissante, interdisaient tout changement. Cette politique était une politique d'union étroite."

The reason for this was simple. "La nécessité pour nous de desserrer l'étreinte espagnole, ce qui pouvait nous mettre en guerre avec la majeure partie de l'Europe, nous commandait de nous assurer des alliances ou à tout le moins des neutralités. Nous en recherchions en Pologne, en Suède, en Danemark, en Turquie, parmi les Princes allemands qu'inquiétait la prépotence autrichienne, mais surtout en Hollande et en Angleterre."

To this end, then, the French government addressed itself, from the marriage of Henrietta Maria to Charles I., through an amazing number of treaties and agreements—that of 1655; the cession of Dunkirk in 1657; that of 1659; the marriage of Charles II.'s sister to Louis XIV.'s brother in 1660; the agreement of 1661; the sale of Dunkirk in 1662; the accord of 1667 in regard to colonies; the treaty of Dover in 1670 and its pendants; the treaties of 1676, 1677 and 1678 preliminary to Nymwegen; and those of 1686, 1687 and 1688. All these, it may be noted, were pacific agreements, of very different character from those which followed. As M. Jusserand well points out, the peace of Nymwegen has been considered the apogee of the reign of Louis XIV., which for a dozen years thereafter "rested on the pinnacle". He points out, still further, that the years before that time, before Louis XIV. had succumbed to the flatterers about him, were those of the great figures which we associate with his eminence; that the English monarchy was saved by the fact that the will of the people overpowered that of Crown and Lords alike; that the French monarchy fell because it overpowered the people and the aristocracy, and allowed the abuses of its power which brought it to an end. And it was in the period when this occurred that France and England from being friends turned to enemies; so that, with one exception—the War of the

Polish Succession—every conflict of the eighteenth century saw them on opposite sides. Thus was the Richelieu testament cast aside.

It is doubtless heresy to say that of all forms of historical composition, of all contributions to historical knowledge, the most depressing to one not a confirmed diplomatic historian is frequently, if not generally, a collection of diplomatic documents—that infinity of what this man thought and that man guessed and the other man surmised, from which, as often as not, nothing at all emerged. To that the present work is an exception; for M. Jusserand, as might have been expected, has made this collection of instructions an extraordinarily interesting, even a fascinating, study. It is a triumph of editing. It is, indeed, far more than editing; it is a reconstruction of the past. By means of his unrivalled knowledge of the period and its actors; with a familiarity all but that of a personal contemporary with the individuals who here play their parts, he makes them live. To his aid he has summoned the talents of Saint Simon; of Samuel Pepys; of Clarendon; of Milton; and of many more to illuminate his pages. He has read and he quotes an infinity of books; he has gone through the *Correspondance d'Angleterre* in the archives. From these he has reconstructed the story of this long and interesting period, brought before us its characters and even made them speak in their own words. Moreover in his notes he has assembled a mass of information of almost unbelievable extent and minuteness about even secondary characters; till the whole forms a veritable encyclopedia of information—though, as it were, a living encyclopedia. It is a monument of historical investigation; and a masterpiece of historical presentation of difficult material. It is, in fact, a history.

In the face of this achievement any words of depreciation may seem ill-advised, even though they reflect in no way upon M. Jusserand. But for the sake of the ensuing volumes to whose appearance we look forward with unusual interest, one may note that there are here and there a number of typographical errors of no great importance to the sense, but irritating in so admirable a work. The second word is a reflection which is not confined to this series. It is—and it may, one hopes it will be, seriously considered—an index. Despite the admirable *Table de Matières*, which provides a summary of the contents of these volumes of unusual competence, no one who is interested in the seventeenth century but would be grateful for a more complete guide to the mass of materials here collected—for even the best summary of contents takes little account of footnotes, and these footnotes deserve an index if ever footnotes did.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

John Gay's London, Illustrated from the Poetry of the Time. By WILLIAM HENRY IRVING. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1928. Pp. xviii, 459. $6.00.)

JOHN GAY and his times have come in for much attention in recent years. The *Beggar's Opera* as revived by Nigel Playfair showed a wonderful vitality, and was widely acclaimed by Londoners of the twentieth century, although it had been primarily intended for their ancestors some two centuries before. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are now being carefully studied from the standpoint of literature, although the historian has not as yet devoted the same amount of time to this interesting epoch in literature and politics. Mr. Irving in this handsome volume attempts to trace the social history of London, with many ramifications, through the poetry (and verse) of two centuries and more, but with special reference to the century between the Restoration and the accession of George III. The title of the work is somewhat misleading. This long period is subdivided. During the reigns of Charles II. and James II. writers for the most part were dependent upon some powerful patron for their success, and many times even for their bread. In great contrast were the next thirty years when literary men were courted by prominent statesmen who sought to gain the aid of their trenchant pens in the rough and tumble political life of the reigns of William III., Anne, and George I. The closest possible relationship existed in those days between literature and history as the public careers of Defoe, Addison, Swift, Prior, Steele and Bolingbroke sufficiently attest. With the coming into power of Sir Robert Walpole, however, the literary coterie was once more neglected by both politician and patron. Immortal Grub Street appears.

The author acknowledges his deep indebtedness to Juvenal, to Boswell's *London,* and in an even greater degree to Gay's *Trivia.* He has, however, foraged far and wide in quest of materials that might shed light upon the social history of the English metropolis. He has performed a real service for the student of English history or literature in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. We can now place the poetry of the time side by side with the prose writings of Ned Ward and Tom Brown, two writers, who, if judged by the standards of their day, were probably only realistic rather than pornographic in their methods. The author intimates that the tendency of writers to sing the praises of this tavern or that coffee-house may probably have been due to the fact that in many instances they were paid for such sly advertisements. Some of his quotations (pp. 39–40) suggest that Macaulay's strictures upon the clergy were not far from accurate, especially in so far as they referred to chaplains.

The style is clear, although in places a bit forced, and a few of the statements appear unhappy. Occasionally it seems to suffer from compression of the author's introductions to his quotations and an overloading of the footnotes. Mr. Irving probably exaggerates in saying p. 6) that Charles Montague, later earl of Halifax, was "the greatest man of affairs and statesman of William's reign ", for Danby, Sunderland, and probably Shrewsbury, appear equally important. Wide as his range of reading has been he might have gleaned some suggestions from the books by J. E. Gillespie and J. R. Botsford on English society as influenced by overseas expansion. We might wish for a better map than the one for 1707 which he reproduces. It lacks sufficient detail for the reader to trace out the location of the streets and alleys and lanes mentioned in the extracts. Much of the joy of studying the history of London is in finding the location of the old streets. The reproduction of a map of 1720 (British Museum), which contains the names of practically all the byways of London and is equipped with an index, would have been invaluable to the reader. The book is supplemented by an excellent bibliography and an adequate index.

William Thomas Morgan.

La Pensée de Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Par Albert Schinz, Ph.D., Professeur de Littérature Française à l'Université de Pensylvanie. (Paris: Alcan. 1929. Pp. xii, 521. 60 fr.)

The Meaning of Rousseau. By Ernest Hunter Wright, Professor of English in Columbia University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. vi, 168. $3.00.)

Two new and careful studies, bearing the imprint 1929, testify to the enduring interest of Rousseau and the countless interpretations of his teachings. Significantly, both the book of Professor Schinz and that of Professor Wright are strongly favorable to Rousseau. The intense hostility to the eighteenth century thinker current during the last twenty or twenty-five years among some writers, complicated by the animosity of French traditionalistic royalists who constructed the equation Rousseau = romanticism = democracy, is leading to the expected sympathetic reaction. It is safe to predict that judgment of Rousseau will never be unanimous while his influence is felt in modern civilization. The libertarians and the disciplinarians will remain at odds.

In the difficult task of interpreting the complicated and shifting theories of Rousseau both Professor Schinz and Professor Wright have sincerely tried to keep a judicious attitude. Their books are almost identical as to title, though Professor Schinz's study is over three times as long as the other; but a survey of the two works shows very different methods for reaching somewhat parallel conclusions. Both scholars realize, as every fair-minded person will admit, that Rousseau, whatever his high crimes and misdemeanors, need not be blamed for the aberrations of contemporary followers, any more than Racine should be blamed for the Empire tragedies or St. Augustine made responsible for the deductions of the Calvinists and the Jansenists.

If a student plans to read both works he will more fittingly begin with Wright's short volume. The author's acknowledged aim is to disentangle Rousseau's main opinions from the confusions of controversy: "It is surely time men knew his own intention." Consequently we have in all, four concise chapters, dealing with the natural man, natural education, natural society, and natural religion. A careful study of Rousseau, a modest attitude on the part of the writer (p. 31), systematic exposition, freedom from learned references to Rousseau literature characterize the book. Wright finds the essential unity of Rousseau's works in the idea that man must be perfected by his reason in accordance with his nature, but he thinks that Rousseau stressed conscience more than reason because conscience was out of fashion in his day (p. 15); very much, we may add, as on the other hand Boileau stressed the rules in his *Art poétique*, taking genius for granted. This rationalizing of Rousseau is skillfully done, but makes one feel that the bow may be bent too far and that Wright's Rousseau is on the way to full-fledged Aristotelianism.

If the tone of Professor Wright's work is the calm summing up of the magistrate, Professor Schinz is more aggressive. He vehemently assails the detractors of Rousseau from Lasserre to Seillière and Babbitt, yet he is not blind to the confusion and instability of Rousseau's theories which have led to so many different conclusions. Professor Schinz has spent years in the study of Rousseau and nobody is more entitled to respectful consideration. He has in this work given an elaborate and subtle analysis of the teachings of Rousseau, starting with the premise that nearly all of his ideas had already been held by this or that writer before him, so that one should not blame him as the creator of evil. Schinz is perfectly ready to admit the inconsistencies of Rousseau (stressing these points more than Wright), he does not deny the confusions of Rousseau in his use of terms, nor does he attempt to make Rousseau anything but a romanticist. One feels respect for the author's ingenuity in discovery fundamental unity behind constant outward variations; though, just as Wright's Olympian calm is sometimes unconvincing, so Schinz occasionally suggests the logomachy of the partisan at all costs. But significant is the following sentence (p. 81): "Rousseau parut au moment d'une irrésistible poussée dans le va-et-vient du 'rythme psychologique' des peuples—comme l'aurait appelé M. Cazamian. Il parait au moment où une puissante onde romantique (ou d'affranchissement moral) succédait à une longue onde classique (ou de discipline morale); et au moment où cette onde parvenait au sommet de sa courbe et était sur le point de déferler dans un mouvement de descente vertigineuse." This judgment is identical with the one from Wright referred to above and explains why the Rousseauist will never convert the classicist.

Both the works of Professors Schinz and Wright are valuable additions to the literature of Rousseau, and Schinz's book will be consulted by all specialists.

C. H. C. Wright.

Barère de Vieuzac: l'Anacréon de la Guillotine. Par Robert Launay. (Paris: Tallandier. 1929. Pp. 354. 25 fr.)

For reasons that are obvious to specialists, the problem of writing a careful study of Barère's revolutionary career is less formidable in our day than it was before the labors of the last two generations of students.

If the factual record of the Revolution is not yet fully comprehensible nor comprehensible in the same way to any two historians, it is nevertheless fuller than ever before and certainly full enough to satisfy the most meticulous investigator. The niceties of the internal developments have been carefully surveyed and analyzed, now in tracing one line of development, now in their inter-action. For the historian of Barère, whose career was completely identified with the course of the revolutionary movement, the procedure seemed cut out in advance: to plunge into the mass of records pertaining to his activities and to examine them in terms of the shifting situations into which circumstances forced the Revolution. As an alternative, the historian could simplify his task by elaborating and embellishing the only formula that has thus far been offered to explain Barère and pass off that elaborated legend as a careful historical study. M. Launay gives proof of his versatility by combining both procedures, though the combination is less felicitous than it is versatile. After examining certain selected incidents of Barère's career against the background of an implicit acceptance of the Barère legend, he proceeds to an explicit embellishment of the legend as if it were corroborated by these same selected incidents. Thus M. Launay comes naturally to the conclusion—as he acknowledges himself in the introduction—that he has given the reader an accurate portrait of Barère and that he has done so in the best traditions of historical writing. And M. Launay writes with such charm and force, with such an engaging appeal to cultivated literary tastes that it is not unlikely that the half-informed reader of this first biography of Barère will be confirmed in the current version of Barère's utter unworthiness.

The reviewer has developed M. Launay's approach at some length, because it reveals the weaknesses of his volume more than any itemized listing of its faults. Its insufficiencies are of two kinds—glaring omissions and misleading interpretations. The slow evolution of Barère's political philosophy before the Revolution is not traced; not a hint is thrown out to suggest that many of Barère's apparent fluctuations of policy were in reality instances of his devotion to an attitude that he evolved before 1789. One looks in vain for any systematic treatment of his career in the Constituent Assembly; neither the long series of incidents concerning his unsuccessful mediation between the Jacobins and the Girondins, nor the longer chain of events which reveal him as a responsible, constructive minister of the "grand comité de salut public" are adequately handled. Partly, therefore, because of those omissions, M. Launay falls back upon the traditional interpretation of Barère as "a born trifler, without depth, seriousness and conscience, with no convictions, no passionate attachment to anything at all". What could be more logical, then, on the author's part than to attribute Barère's actions to fear, to irresponsible ambition, to studied calculation, or to treason! Nowhere is it intimated, however, that while Barère was not wholly an admirable character he was a supple, cautious politician, averse to taking chances, capable of out-guessing his colleagues and anticipating the flux of events, but a politician who was sincere in his revolutionary credo, who subordinated all other considerations to the cardinal purpose of ensuring the triumph of his faith, and who, like any other politician, played the game of politics according to its unsavory rules, which meant among other things keeping himself in power as long as he could, by fair means or foul.

Where M. Launay describes the man Barère and not the revolutionary politician, or where he gives an account of Barère in Tarbes before the Revolution, or where he traces Barère's sorry rôle under Napoleon and the Restoration, the study is vivid and fairly accurate.

Leo Gershoy.

La Fayette. By Brand Whitlock. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 2 vols. 1929. Pp. xvi, 475; x, 452. $10.00.)

Making no pretensions to a scholar's knowledge of the historical backgrounds of this book; having been asked, in fact, to consider it here primarily as a piece of biographical writing, I have accepted the invitation with no intention of violating its terms.

The methods of biography—an art which lacked even a name until Dryden gave it this one—have become, especially since the art in recent years has raised up so many practitioners, natural and legitimate objects for scrutiny. Mr. Harold Nicolson, in his excellent "Hogarth Lectures" on the *Development of English Biography* (1928), has ascribed to "pure biography" the essential elements of truth, individuality, and art. The implications here are of course that the nearest possible approach to historic truth, unblurred by personal, ethical, or other such considerations, should be a prime object of the biographer; that he must resist the temptation "to compose the life of an individual as an illustration of some extraneous theory or conception", that is, that his eye shall be fixed singly upon his subject; and that his production shall be a work of art. These requirements give to biography its just place among the forms of literature—a place which carries a clear challenge to candidates for its precincts.

The challenge, according to Sir Sidney Lee—more Victorian in his approach to biography than Mr. Nicolson—goes back of mere methods to the very selection of a theme. "A fit biographic theme", he declares, "is, in the Aristotelian phrase, a career which is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude." But theme and treatment are both to be considered: "Good treatment will not compensate for a bad theme, nor will a good theme compensate for bad treatment." To cite but one more authority on the biographer's task, it is the dictum of M. André Maurois, with reference to more recent developments in the practice of biography, that the Victorian sought to produce a document, and that the modern aims at a work of art.

All this would of course be foreign to Mr. Whitlock's book were it not desirable to set forth with some clearness the terms on which it is to be regarded here. Certainly it satisfies Sir Sidney Lee's demands for a theme—seriousness, completeness, and magnitude. Certainly also two of Mr. Nicolson's tests for "pure biography" are met: the author's desire to tell the truth, and to tell it without any conflicting desire to prove a point, is beyond question. It remains to be asked to what extent Mr. Whitlock has produced a work of art.

To consider this point is to attempt an appraisal of the book for what it is, rather than what it is not—and thus to avoid a practice to which reviewers are too much addicted. Experts in the Revolutionary history of America and France may seek for errors in points of detail, and may or may not find them. The larger question is one of Mr. Whitlock's success in bringing to life the epical, human figure of La Fayette as a central figure in the setting of the momentous events of nearly sixty extraordinarily eventful years.

It is a significant circumstance that in the years of 1928 and 1929 two Frenchmen, M. Jacques Kayser and M. Joseph Delteil, have published short biographies of La Fayette, and two Americans beside Mr. Whitlock —Mr. Henry Dwight Sedgwick and Mr. John Simpson Penman—have produced more extended studies of the same subject. In point of bulk Mr. Whitlock's two-volume work is the most extensive of them all. It is nevertheless a book in which he has permitted himself few wanderings from the straight path of narrative. There are, to be sure, explicit indications that a liberal is studying a liberal (see *e.g.* II. 209, 404). But in general the book is objective in character: its boundaries are those of a river between whose banks rushes a torrent of facts. In the ordering and presentation of these facts Mr. Whitlock is presented with his opportunity as an artist, and this, as a whole, he turns to excellent account.

In his picture of La Fayette, the young romantic of our Revolution, one sees not only the charm and spirit which so completely won the heart of Washington, but also the egotist, actuated hardly more in his devotion to the American cause by an undiluted love of liberty than by a hatred of England and an insatiable personal hunger for *la gloire*. When he wrote from France to Washington about Jefferson that "his foible is a canine appetite for popularity and fame" (I. 299), he touched upon a weakness of which he had some first-hand knowledge. Mr. Whitlock is no such hagiographer as to veil this weakness too heavily, or to deflect the reader of his pages from a recognition of La Fayette's failures to accomplish all that he might have brought to pass for his own country if only he had possessed something more of the faculty of squaring his theories with the facts that surrounded him.

It is the penalty of dealing with a life so exceedingly crowded with happenings as the life of La Fayette that the reader—if I may revert to the figure of the river—finds himself wishing at times that the course of the stream did not send it quite so continuously rushing over rapids. That is La Fayette's fault, not Mr. Whitlock's, though the author must bear the brunt of an occasional weariness from the very surfeit of events. This feeling is far less frequent, however, than one of satisfaction in the author's treatment of separate episodes. These are often presented with an admirable employment of the story-teller's art—illustrated, to cite a single example of an effective page, by the account of De Kalb's first landing in America (I. 26–27), and, on a larger spread of canvas, in the section of the book relating to La Fayette's part in the French Revolution (I. 305–475).

In scrutinizing a work of art it is necessary to look at minor as closely as at major points. The proof-reader is presumably to blame for "*haec missi est*" (I. 396), and possibly for "this odd ephemera" (II. 326), where ephemeron would certainly seem preferable. But it is of the author's doing that "he" is used so repeatedly of La Fayette when the pronoun really pertains to somebody else—as if the subject of the book were commonly to be taken for granted as the subject of a sentence; that such inelegancies as "the gift of the gab" (more than once) and "the poor orator never got to make his speech" (II. 269) find their way occasionally into a narrative to the general key of which such expressions are alien; that "excuses to whomever has the torment to love me" (I. 384) has escaped removal; and that the classic "I will drown, nobody shall help me" is almost reproduced in the translation from a proclamation of La Fayette's: "Liberty shall triumph, or we will perish together" (II. 327).

Such flaws as these do not diminish appreciably the real success Mr. Whitlock has achieved—the success that lies in accomplishing what one set out to do. This, I take it, was to produce a comprehensive, objective, artistic life of La Fayette, addressed to the general reader rather than to the historical specialist who insists upon a specific authority for every statement made. The seeker for footnotes will find, I believe, but two on all the 885 pages of narrative—and those merely by way of enriching, not of corroborating, the text. At the end of the second volume there is a three-page "Note on the Sources and Authorities", followed by a list, more than seven pages in length, of "Works Read or Consulted". In this one misses any mention of a graphic source on La Fayette's final visit to America—Josiah Quincy's *Figures of the Past.*

In the publisher's list of Mr. Whitlock's previous writings one misses also his excellent short life of Lincoln in the series of "Beacon Biographies", and his even earlier novel of prison life, *The Turn of the Balance*—books not wholly unrelated to the study of a classic figure both of liberty and of imprisonment. The quality of sympathy which Mr. Whitlock revealed as a writer and a public servant long before he attained his international reputation still manifests itself in his *La Fayette*—a spirited, well sustained story of one of the most enviable of lives. Enviable? Yes, verily. Was there ever anyone else, animated by generous principles, so empowered at the same time by the gifts of the gods—gifts both spiritual and material—to apply these principles to the conduct of his own life, and to win, through so exceptional a span of years, the unstinted plaudits of those whose approbation he valued most?

M. A. DeWolfe Howe.

The Restoration and the July Monarchy. By J. Lucas-Dubreton, translated from the French by E. F. Buckley. [The National History of France series.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1929. Pp. 381. $4.50.)

This book is the latest addition to the National History of France, published abroad by Hachette, and, in America, by Putnam. At least two noteworthy volumes have appeared in this series, one, *The Seventeenth Century* by Jacques Boulenger, and the other, *The Revolution* by Louis Madelin. Both of these books are, in great part, sound and reliable studies, although they are necessarily condensed and incomplete. Both have considerable literary merit. Alas, in the opinion of the reviewer, neither one of these characterizations would apply to this volume by M. Lucas-Dubreton. It is poorly written, poorly translated, and not entirely up to the high standard of quality and literary merit that has been set by some of his colleagues.

As the title implies, the book falls, naturally, into two parts, the Restoration and the July Monarchy. In his treatment of the Restoration, the author was probably hindered by the necessity for condensation. It is always a difficult problem, that problem of omissions, and, it is equally true that, in general, no two writers would omit the same things. And yet, the selections for inclusion and omission in this first half of the volume are, to say the very least, surprising. In fact, the treatment of the Restoration is almost entirely for popular consumption. There is an altogether unnecessary amount of space allotted to the gory and intimate details of seditions and assassinations, and entirely too little attention given to the things that were beginning to develop; political factions, religious factions, and, later, the unconscious efforts of Villèle to give France prosperity. This section of the book abounds with generalizations, with some of which a number of people would take issue. In treating of the White Terror, there is a tendency to confuse the cause of the Ultras with that of the Holy Allies. In another place, the author declares that Benjamin Constant applied the doctrine of " Constitutionalism ". True, but he applied his own particular doctrine of it, which was very unique, as a glance at his pamphlets will show, and which was not at all in agreement with the teaching of others who began to advocate Constitutionalism about the same time. The same may be said of the treatment of the July Days and the months immediately preceding them. From the text, one would infer that Thiers had done all of the conspiring. Little or nothing is said of the older bourgeois whose agent he was.

In the second part of the book, however, the author is, apparently, on surer ground. His analysis, brief as it is, of the principal parties in France at the opening of the reign of Louis Philippe is excellent. There is also a short but very fine description of revolutionary romanticism during the early years of the July Monarchy. His account of the transformation of that monarchy during the 'forties is well done.

In one respect, M. Lucas-Dubreton has displayed a real aptitude. Like his compatriot, M. Madelin, he has the ability to draw completely and in a few sprightly sentences, vivid portraits of his leading characters. His short, rapid sketches of the Duc de Richelieu, Villèle, Charles of Artois, and Louis Philippe are splendid.

At the end of each chapter, an abridged bibliography is appended. In general, the selections are very good, but, in a few instances, works are suggested which should only be advised with qualifications. For example, at the conclusion of the chapter that treats of the beginnings of the July Monarchy, there is the following recommendation: "and, above all, the work of Louis Blanc, *Histoire de Dix Ans* (5 vols., 1841–1844)." Undoubtedly, Louis Blanc is an important source, but should not a word of caution be added in regard to its use?

John M. S. Allison.

Great Britain and the Slave Trade, 1839–1865. By William Law Mathieson, Hon. LL.D., Aberdeen. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Pp. xi, 203. $5.00.)

Professor Mathieson in his volume entitled *England in Transition, 1789–1832,* published in 1920, dealt briefly with the abolition of the British slave trade. This work he followed in 1926 with *British Slavery and its Abolition*. In the present volume he treats of the part which Great Britain played in the suppression of the traffic in slaves after 1839, this being preliminary to a study of the effects of emancipation which he promises for the future.

In an introductory chapter he traces the steps whereby Great Britain achieved conventions with all the European countries involved in the slave trade, all directed toward bringing the traffic to an end. By 1839 satisfactory agreements had been arrived at, and Britain seemed in a position to push the policy of forcible suppression to a speedy conclusion. A blockade of the African coast and destruction of the barracoons or warehouses in which slaves were collected for sale, rapidly reduced the importation of slaves, but the advocates of suppression by force, with less opposition on the seas than at any time since 1807, now encountered trouble at home. A group within England, disturbed by the fact that the methods used to put a stop to the trade had undoubtedly increased its horrors, argued that force should be abandoned and the method of peaceful penetration tried. By this means Africa was to be civilized and converted to the advantages of legitimate commerce, when the slave trade would die of inanition. For the work of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, chief representative of this group, Professor Mathieson has little but condemnation, questioning his facts and impugning his judgment. His influence brought about the ill-fated Niger expedition of 1840–1842, but not much else.

Unhappily, about this time the question of the slave traffic became entangled with that of free trade, and in the struggle to decrease or abolish the duty on foreign sugar the free traders found themselves ranged in opposition to the abolitionists. If England admitted foreign sugar, she increased the demand for a product of slave labor. This, in reality, would increase the demand for slave labor, and make the traffic more tenacious of life. Here the author does scant justice to sincere believers in free trade, who opposed this position.

This diversity of opinion within England, coupled with the lukewarm support of the United States and the stubborn determination of the planters of Cuba and Brazil to obtain slave labor, kept alive a considerable trade throughout the 'forties. The first marked improvement came in 1853 with the coöperation of the government of Brazil. The next few years were marked by a brief revival of the French trade and a somewhat sharp controversy between Great Britain and the United States, where much of the capital involved was taking cover. Not until the Civil War was well under way did America give her wholehearted support to efforts to end the traffic in slaves.

Professor Mathieson tells his complicated story in interesting fashion, though one is sometimes inclined to wish that the marked bias, which he himself avows, were a little less in evidence. The questions in controversy were not simple ones, and the most conscientious believer in abolition might well have hesitated over the wisest means to achieve it. Occasional slips are surprising, as the author's assertion that the British measure of abolition in 1807 brought the traffic in slaves to an end on January 1, 1808. This is most certainly the result of confusion between the English and the American law. The English law forbade any slaver to sail from a British port after May 1, 1807, or to land a cargo of slaves in a colonial port after March 1, 1808.

Elizabeth Donnan.

Select Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1830–1860. Edited by Kenneth N. Bell and W. P. Morrell. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. xlix, 610. 25 s.)

The documents of this volume instead of being placed in chronological sequence are grouped together under a few especially chosen topics. The grouping starts with matters of wide application, such as self-government and emigration, then proceeds through the subjects of slavery and convict settlement to the more localized problems of native races and colonial frontiers. Each document has been selected and edited for its bearing upon some major point of interest that the topic under which it is included exhibits, whilst the substance of these points of interest is set forth in an outline at the beginning of each group. The advantage of this arrangement of documentary material is to make the study of British colonial history for this period clearer and therefore simpler.

The editors, in formulating a broad view of the British colonies in the years 1830–1860, have stressed rightly the transitional character of the era. For academic purposes that is sufficient. But a new note has been introduced into their editorial paragraphs—a note of more than passing interest. They remark almost apologetically (p. xiii) that the documents of colonial history are "couched in the dignified, not to say pompous, language proper to official correspondence and legislative enactment". True enough: and it may be added that many a student of the British colonial system by the fatal attraction of official phraseology has adopted the very texture and tone of officialdom in his imperial outlook—to the detriment of a sympathetic understanding of colonial conditions. With a more humane and realistic eye the editors of these documents send a glance overseas to find the imperial landscape revealing "tins and barbed-wire fences, scraggy telegraph poles, half-made roads and half-ballasted railway tracks, corrugated-iron roofs and wooden shacks, and small talk revolving everlastingly round the two poles of local gossip and economic statistics". And for them, the "real hero of colonial history is the man whose slow smile the Governor-General must often have called out, the lonely and silent pioneer". To this we may add that the smile has also been too often sad and sour.

Holding such a view it was natural that the editors should regard Lord Elgin and his tenure of office in Canada as the completest expression of the transition in colonial theory and practice. But Elgin's greatness, it may be remarked, is only partly explained by his countenancing of the Liberal leaders, Baldwin and Lafontaine. His real title to greatness consists in this: that single-handed he fought to a finish the die-hard Tories of Montreal and Toronto by the strangest of all political weapons—a passive resistance, in the face of humiliating insult and social ostracism, that only a lofty evangelical piety could inspire. Exception must be taken in one of the biographical notes (p. 38) to the suggestion that Papineau advocated an elective Legislative Council for Lower Canada in order to procure the annexation of French Canada to the United States. The suggestion is novel, and, in the opinion of the reviewer, erroneous. Having found a place for Papineau it is strange that in the selection of documents dealing with self-government in Canada no place or mention has been accorded the name of William Lyon Mackenzie! The editors, it must be confessed, seem not altogether at their best in biographical sketches; but their editorial work is particularly strong in depicting the interests at home—philanthropic, commercial, and religious—that tried to influence and control colonial activities in the days of Colonial Office supremacy.

C. E. Fryer.

The Age of Grey and Peel. By the late H. W. Carless Davis, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, 1925–1928. [Ford Lectures for 1926.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. x, 347. 15 s.)

In a brief introduction to this posthumous volume Professor George Macaulay Trevelyan writes that the author, having established his reputation in medieval history, was proceeding to set his mark on modern history as well when his sudden death, in the prime of life, cut short a scholarly career of marked distinction. Though the Regius Professor of Modern History in Cambridge was a warm admirer of the late Regius Professor of Modern History in Oxford, this judgment ought not to be dismissed as a bit of uncritical eulogy, for Trevelyan has himself explored at first hand, especially in his *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill,* parts of the field that are here traversed by his friend. The volume consists, in substance, of the Ford Lectures which the author delivered at Oxford in 1926, though they have been so revised that little trace of the lecture form remains. In a note left by Professor Davis, which is inserted in the introduction, it is stated that the book is concerned with "the parties and the ideas of English politics in the first half of the Nineteenth Century" and also with "certain movements, intellectual, social, political, which originated outside party politics, but which in different fashions influenced party programmes", and that its general object is "to show how principles, often of very broad and vague description, were applied in practice". The age of Grey and Peel, as the author viewed it, began in the eighteenth century, not because they happened to be born in it but because their political ideas were derived from it. Peel's public career fell entirely, and Grey's mainly, in the nineteenth century, but, as the author remarks, the great reforms with which their names are associated represent the triumph of eighteenth century ideas. It is not without reason, then, that the book begins with a discussion of the Rockingham Whigs and their political ideas, and that seven of its thirteen chapters relate, in whole or in part, to the eighteenth century. The terminal dates are 1765 and 1852.

There are many informed and penetrating estimates of politicians, practical and theoretical. The keynote of Brougham's career was "a naïvely egoistical ambition, which would have been completely odious if it had been united with ordinary prudence and a placid temperament". Cobbett was "in his heart of hearts a Tory, cherishing the dream of a golden age, when the country had been ruled by a benevolent aristocracy of fair and sympathetic landlords". The discussion of ideas and movements, as well as of personalities, is based throughout upon extensive reading in the sources and mature reflection. In several of the chapters an attentive reader will be conscious, I think, of a certain lack of focus. It is not always clear how the subject under consideration serves the author's main purpose, which was to expound the ideas of the Whig and Tory parties in the first half of the nineteenth century. There is no doubt, however, that the book contributes to a better understanding of English party politics during a period which, in Professor Trevelyan's words, "perhaps comes nearest to rivalling in interest and importance the heroic age of Strafford and Cromwell".

R. L. SCHUYLER.

The Life of Lord Pauncefote: First Ambassador to the United States. By R. B. MOWAT, Professor of History in the University of Bristol. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. xvi, 306. $5.00.)

THIS is an easy flowing narrative of a laborious and useful life. The author's well-known facility in handling historical material gives assurance of accuracy which is borne out by careful examination, though "Stephen Grover Cleveland" (p. 112) must be considered punctilio which is essentially inaccurate.

The slow steps by which the subject rose from a minor member of an inconspicuous county family to a position of high importance, illustrate English official training at its best. The sound character of the material submitted to this polishing process, Lord Pauncefote's innate sense of justice, and capacity for hard continuous effort, is clearly brought out; and limitations which held him from the highest attainment may be read between the lines. His individuality among the crowd of minor English gentry engaged in the diplomacy of his time, Mr. Mowat shows convincingly to have been his profound and growing knowledge of international law and his good nature.

In spite of his long and efficient service at the center of British affairs, the Foreign Office, Lord Pauncefote's chief contribution was as minister and ambassador at Washington. The mere list of treaties drawn up during his term (pp. 298–299) is monumental. It was during his service that the striking amelioration of mutual attitude between the United States and Great Britain took place, to which he made his contribution. One feels, however, that he remembered with especial pleasure his part as midwife of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague.

One wonders why a book of three hundred pages on a long and busy life seems padded, as with rather *Who's Who* sketches of all those with whom he had contact. One distinctly feels that there was an effort to reach a prearranged limit of space. Doubtless this is in part due to the fact that Pauncefote's efforts were always intermeshed with those of others; of others generally more conspicuous than himself. In addition he was the ideal, but unusual, diplomat who neither talked in epigrams nor vented his soul in letters; his exceptional capacity for silence was probably golden for his task, but not for his biographer.

One feels that Mr. Mowat, too, is by nature discreet. Probably there were no dark abysses to shun, but at places, as in the discussion of the Venezuela incident, one seems to skim pleasantly over the cruder realities of international intercourse. Aside from the revelation of the commendable, but not strikingly interesting personality of Lord Pauncefote, the chief contributions of the book are the intimate and informed descriptions of the actual methods of work in the British Foreign Office and the embassy at Washington.

The reviewer arises with that sense of the reality of official life in the 'eighties and 'nineties, which Trollope alone has given him for mid-century England. A final word must be given to Lord Pauncefote himself, a quotation reconstructed by his daughter in her introduction to this volume (p. xi), "I have worked too hard all my life to be a sufficiently interesting subject for any biographer, although I have been closely connected with very important men and events. But of these I must write myself and look forward to doing so in my leisure after I retire. But my *biography* will never be written." He died in harness, and a biography became a *desideratum,* but it cannot make to our understanding of his times the contributions he considered appropriate.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Parliament and the British Empire: some Constitutional Controversies concerning Imperial Legislative Jurisdiction. By ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. Pp. viii, 279. $3.75.)

THIS volume consists of five essays of unequal length on "the legal right of the British Parliament to legislate on any subject for any or all parts of the British Empire". It was admittedly stimulated by Professor McIlwain's *The American Revolution: a Constitutional Interpretation.* This very suggestive study of the legal relation of the realm to the dominions upheld the thesis that Parliament never possessed lawful authority outside the realm of England. Professor Schuyler's studies have led him to the opposite conclusion; indeed, his careful review, in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1924, of Professor McIlwain's book foreshadowed the position he has elaborated in this volume.

The first and second chapters cover much the same ground as the brief volume by Professor McIlwain. Pre-Commonwealth legislation is sifted for statutes relating to lands outside the realm, such as Calais, the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man. Professor Schuyler concludes that medieval as well as Tudor and Elizabethan statutes show that Parliament legislated for the Dominions long before the time of the Commonwealth. The origin of Parliament's imperial authority is found in its evolution out of the council of the king: "It exercised authority over the Dominions simply because it was the king's council, and they were the king's dominions." The second and longest chapter takes direct issue with Professor McIlwain's parallel between the position of the American Revolutionary thinkers and the Irish claims for legislative independence from the Parliament at Westminster. Darcy's *Declaration* and Molyneux's famous *The Case of Ireland . . . Stated* are again examined, along with

Mayart's *Answer* to Darcy. Professor Schuyler concludes that Molyneux's contentions are both "bad history and bad law" (p. 83). Nor is the complete victory of Ireland in 1782 regarded as definitive, since the reasons for the triumph "are to be found elsewhere than in the strength of the historical arguments used to support it".

There is no attempt to reappraise the constitutional issue as it found expression in America before the Revolution, on the ground that "this controversy has been pretty thoroughly explored". The remainder of the book is largely confined to the West Indies, where some interesting parallels are found. The slavery problem in the West Indies after the abolition of the trade in 1807 takes a large place. The Registry Bill of 1815 again raised the constitutional issue. Although direct action was prevented at the time by the West India interest, later colonial intransigence led to imperial legislative activity.

The last chapter is a fragmentary sketch of the "Present Problem", the one resulting from the rise of "equal nations" within the Commonwealth. The relation of the recent development to the earlier controversies seems hardly close enough to warrant this addition, since it has been through an "over-riding of legal power by constitutional conventions that an Empire has been transformed into a Commonwealth".

The volume is interestingly written, carefully documented, and well indexed. It is doubtful if Lord Durham thought his famous Report received "respectful consideration" (p. 199), and if 1848 is the best date for the final establishment of responsible government in Canada. A discussion of the Australian Colonies Government Act of 1850 should include the name of Lord John Russell. Newfoundland's loyalty to the mother country and to the name of the "old colony" does not greatly differentiate it, in particular, from such another member of the Commonwealth as the Dominion of New Zealand.

HOWARD ROBINSON.

Die Auswärtige Politik des Deutschen Reiches 1871–1914; Einzige vom Auswärtigen Amt autorisierte gekürzte Ausgabe der amtlichen Grossen Aktenpublikation der Deutschen Reichsregierung. Unter Leitung von ALBRECHT MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY und FRIEDRICH THIMME, herausgegeben vom Institut für Auswärtige Politik in Hamburg. (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik u. Geschichte. 4 vols. 1928. Pp. xi, 799, 749, 730, 877. 175 M.)

THE purpose of this excellent selection of documents from *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette 1871–1914* is to give the general reader in Germany a documentary account of German foreign policy from 1871 to 1914. In order to emphasize German policy the editors limit their reproductions to papers written by the Chancellors and the officials of the Foreign Office, confidential communications between the members of the Triple Alliance, and to the reports of German representatives abroad so far as they served to interpret German policy to foreign governments. In the choice of documents, length and contents played a large part, especially in the case of documents dealing with tiresome negotiations that could be easily summarized. To save space many documents are condensed into a few words, much of the technical apparatus is omitted, many footnotes are curtailed and about twice as many words are used per page as in *Die Grosse Politik*. All the marginalia of the documents printed are reproduced.

The arrangement of documents by subjects is kept as in *Die Grosse Politik*, but many documents are shifted to more convenient places. Volume I. covers the period from 1871 to 1897, vol. II., from 1898 to 1906, vol. III., from 1907 to 1911, and vol. IV., from 1912 to 1914 (Aug. 5). Compared with *Die Grosse Politik* a little more emphasis is placed on the first period—quite properly—the first volume including about one-fourth of the material in *Die Grosse Politik* whereas the collection as a whole includes about one-eighth of it. A new feature is the selection of materials from the Kautsky Documents to carry the story through August 4, 1914.

A number of documents are published here for the first time. These are to be found in vol. I. 160, note and p. 639; vol. II. 290, 311, 534–535; vol. III. 59, 118–120, 133–136, 195–198, 254–255, 331–333, 356–357; vol. IV. 379, 850. In one case an error seems to have crept in (vol. IV. 354, note 1); the document here published was published in full in *Die Grosse Politik* (vol. XXXIV. 150, note). Several corrections of the documents in *Die Grosse Politik* are made; two of these appear in vol. I. 378, note 1, correcting *G. P.* vol. V. 304 and in vol. II. 311 where the new material shows that the summary in *G. P.* XVII. 102, note, should refer to the "whole Bagdad Railway question" instead of merely the Koweit question.

Of the new information one of the most interesting bits is the Haymerle's despatch of May 11, 1881. It is a violent protest against Bismarck's sudden change of attitude in the course of negotiations for an Austro-German commercial treaty (vol. I. 160, n. 3). In a passage omitted from Nr. 8084 in *Die Grosse Politik* (vol. XXIII. omission indicated but contents not given) Jagow explains German hopes of an ultimate absorption of Holland by peaceful means (vol. III. 59). For the benefit of those who might not take the trouble to investigate, it should be stated that the same idea appears in another place in *Die Grosse Politik* (vol. XXIII. 488). A full account of the Grey-Lichnowsky interview of August 5, 1914, is printed. (Vol. IV. 850–852. I suggest that this new edition may be referred to as *G. P., G.* or *G. P., G. A.*) Grey talked as though he and Lichnowsky were allies fighting against the German military party; he explained that his position as a possible mediator of an early peace was easier when Britain was in the war; and he congratulated Lichnowsky on the success of his mission to London. Appropriate comments from the pen of the Kaiser follow.

The editor chiefly responsible for the selection of documents, Dr. Friedrich Thimme, is to be congratulated on the successful achievement of a most difficult task. His summaries and interpretations are models of comprehensive condensation. Whatever German predilections he betrays can be easily detected; the numerous references to *Die Grosse Politik* make investigation simple. His choice of documents is representative of the documents in the larger collection, without prejudice on either side. His judgment in regard to the materials to be selected to portray the German policy in the great crises, such as those of 1887 and 1908–1909, is unimpeachable.

On the whole, the editors of this collection have lived up to the lofty standards they set in editing the most courageous publication of modern times, *Die Grosse Politik.* The ultimate authority on particular points, of course, will continue to be neither *Die Grosse Politik* nor this selection from it, but the archives themselves. For general policy, particularly for German policy, the present selection comes extraordinarily close to being a substitute for *Die Grosse Politik.*

M. H. COCHRAN.

Au Service de la France: Neuf Années de Souvenirs. Tome V. *L'Invasion, 1914.* Par RAYMOND POINCARÉ. (Paris: Plon. 1928. Pp. 543. 25 fr.)

M. POINCARÉ, with his extraordinary energy and capacity for work, has added a fifth volume to his valuable memoirs. It covers the first months of the war, from August 5 to December 31, 1914. It is even more diary-like than the earlier volumes, but contains fewer revelations and is consequently of less compelling interest than his contributions to pre-war diplomacy and politics.

Some two-thirds of this volume record the daily military news from the front, but this is of a rather piece-meal and fragmentary character. There is no discussion of general strategic problems, though there are interesting accounts of the personal desires and opinions of many military men whom he visited at the front. M. Poincaré complains gently, especially during the early weeks of the war, that he was not kept quickly and fully informed by Joffre and G.H.Q. as to the military situation. In fact, had he been more fully consulted he would have been even more opposed to the removal of the government from Paris to Bordeaux, a step which he greatly regretted and which he was anxious to redress as soon as possible by a return to Paris.

Diplomatic relations are touched upon from time to time, notably in regard to the various combinations suggested for influencing the Balkan states. In this connection he takes many a fling at Sazonov's "fairly infelicitous propositions" (p. 15), "his multiplicity of hasty and disordered steps in the Balkans" (p. 96), and his inconvenient habit of rushing forward without first consulting Russia's French ally. "M. Sazonov, who continues every morning to give birth to an idea which he abandons every evening, proposes a fortieth or fiftieth measure, infallible like his previous ones, for reconstituting the Balkan bloc" (p. 514). Several interesting passages tell us something of the little known relations between Japan and the Entente, especially of the futile efforts to persuade Japan to send troops to Europe. President Wilson's readiness to mediate, and the rejection of the Pope's efforts for a cessation of arms at Christmas, are briefly touched upon.

Of greatest interest, perhaps, are M. Poincaré's frank comments on personalities in France: Caillaux, who was sent on a mission to Brazil more to get rid of his trouble-making in France than for the ostensible purpose of reporting on economic conditions in South America (pp. 424, 430); Clemenceau, who refused a Cabinet position on August 24 when the ministry was enlarged, but who criticized Poincaré's policies so bitterly that he brought down upon his head a stinging presidential rebuke of the sharpest sort (pp. 187 ff., 534 ff.); Viviani, whose nerves were often on edge and wanted to resign the premiership because he thought Briand was usurping his functions (p. 438); Léon Bourgeois, "one of those persons, all too rare, who fill with good grace the office assigned to them" (p. 203); and Myron T. Herrick, whom M. Poincaré always speaks of with great affection and the highest regard.

Sidney B. Fay.

The Effect of the World War upon the Commerce and Industry of Japan: Commerce. By Kakujiro Yamasaki, D.C.L., Professor of Economics in the Tokyo Imperial University, Member of the Imperial Academy; *Industry.* By Gotaro Ogawa, M.P., Member of the Imperial Diet, Dean and Professor of Public Finance in Toyo Kyokai University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. xxiv, 345. $4.00.)

Hardly any subject is of more interest to students of modern economic history than the effects of the World War upon commerce and industry, and one opens this book with high expectations. Disappointment begins, however, with the table of contents. The study of the subject ends with 1921, even with 1918 in the section devoted to industry. It is well known that the Japanese industrialists were strong enough to force the government, in 1919, to use its large resources, accumulated during the war, to halt the process of deflation. Consequently, any study of the effects of the war upon commerce and industry in Japan, if it is to be at all complete, must cover the years till at least 1926. It seems to the reviewer, therefore, that this book omits the central problem, which should have been discussed—the final effect of deflation upon industry, commerce, and finance. This omission is doubtless the fault of the general editor and not of the authors, for so far as this study goes, it is highly illuminating, and in its organization has the great virtue of simplicity and clearness.

The second part of the book, written by Gotaro Ogawa, a member of the Japanese Diet, while it probably would be considered by the general reader a dull recital of facts, presents to the student a vivid picture of the extent of industrial development in Japan. The principal manufacturing industries—iron and steel, ship building, machinery, chemistry, spinning and weaving—are taken up seriatim. There are numerous statistical tables covering the five war years, and in addition there are average figures for 1911 to 1913.

Mr. Ogawa's conclusion is that the World War promoted the country's progress toward two objectives, namely, "the checking of imports of foreign manufacture, and the securing of markets abroad for home production". Ogawa believes, however, that while there was a remarkable increase in the export trade as measured in volume, a truer measure of the nation's industrial advance is to be found in "the increase in horse power and in the number of factory workers". Judged by his own yardstick, Japan's industrial strength increased only about 50 per cent. during the period of the war.

The first part of the book, by Dr. Kakujiro Yamasaki, is divided into two parts, the war period and the three years following. The subjects discussed are foreign trade, foreign exchange, domestic trade, the exchanges (stock and produce) and prices.

While each of these subjects is dealt with at considerable length in each of the sections, and much interesting information, especially about the war-time controls, prices, and rates of exchange, is given, this part of the book is particularly disappointing, as there is no adequate discussion of the central and most important problem of 1920 and 1921, namely, the methods adopted by the government for the delay of deflation.

There is set forth by the author an interesting account of the development in Japan in 1919 of trade acceptances, and a little later in the year of "stamped bills", issued by exporters and guaranteed or "stamped" by the Bank of Japan. The author's conclusions, as stated on page 211, are neither significant nor interesting, in fact, they are in part misleading. He speaks of easy money and the brief boom of the second half of 1921 as if they were natural phenomena, whereas they were the results of a deliberate action on the part of the government to retard radical readjustments that were really necessary.

W. W. McLAREN.

Versailles to Rapallo, 1920–1922: Diary of an Ambassador. By VISCOUNT D'ABERNON, P.S., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Company. 1929. Pp. xii, 335. $5.00.)

LORD D'ABERNON (Sir Edgar Vincent) was admirably equipped for the post of British ambassador at Berlin. Rich in Near Eastern experience (Financial Adviser to Egypt, 1883–1889, and Governor of the Ottoman Bank, 1889–1897), his seventeen years' service as a member of the Conservative party in Parliament brought him contacts broader and more humanizing than those of the diplomatic bureaucracy. His diary is planned to cover, in three volumes, his years of service at Berlin (I. 1920–1922; II. 1922–1924; III. 1924–1926); it is important not only as the work of a magnanimous and progressive participant in the reconstruction of Europe, but also as another distinguished contribution to the British literature of public affairs, a literature remarkable for its cultivation, candor, and political sense.

A brief preliminary survey, which is particularly interesting by way of comparison with pre-war and propagandist estimates, essays the delicate and perhaps doubtful task of analyzing Germany and the Germans. Generalizations about national characteristics may rarely be universally true, but honestly and intelligently conceived they are sometimes helpful. Lord d'Abernon's appear to be restrained and penetrating. A second section presents the author's "personal appreciations" of such men as Lloyd George, Rathenau, Briand, Balfour, Weygand, and Curzon; these vignettes are objective and illuminating; among them the most striking passage is perhaps this: "current opinion that Lloyd George is changeable and unpersistent in his views is the exact opposite of the truth. He is persistent to the verge of obstinacy; in fact, I think it is his fidelity to causes which makes him so apparently changeable in his views of people."

Outstanding in his knowledge of international finance, d'Abernon participated in the European conferences from Spa through Rapallo, a drudgery relieved by the dramatic interlude of service with Weygand on the Anglo-French mission which saved Warsaw from the Soviet armies. His conversations with many of Europe's celebrities were concerned not only with attempts to moderate and adjust the economic and political strains of reconstruction, but also with some of the unsolved problems underlying the war. Much that is interesting in the ante-bellum relations of Germany, Russia, and Turkey—particularly the opinions of well informed Germans—may be found in his pages.

Among the meritorious aspects of d'Abernon's service was clearly his steadfast and courageous adherence to the "inexorable truth that German finance must be restored" before Germany or Europe could be saved from shipwreck, and before reparations could be adjusted. He did not believe that the critical situation was due to German rascality or to deliberate planning. He felt that Germany was seriously exposed to the danger of communism, a danger much more real than any German war of revenge on France. He was convinced that Germany, contrary to popular Allied opinion, disarmed as rapidly and thoroughly as was consistent with her safety and stability. He has thrown new light on the making of the Russo-German treaty of Rapallo, showing how it was the result of the "three vanities" of Lloyd George, Rathenau, and Poincaré—and, of German panic.

D'Abernon's story is told with clarity and fairness; it is frequently enlivened with a rare humor; he has not forgotten the remark of the foreign critic, apparently inspired by Landseer, who likened Curzon and Lloyd George to Dignity and Impudence. LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

Field-Marshal Earl Haig. By Brigadier-General JOHN CHARTERIS, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1929. Pp. xiv, 407. $6.00.)

GENERAL CHARTERIS's volume presents little new documentary evidence, even in fragmentary quotations from diaries or correspondence; yet it is the most substantial of any military biography dealing with the Great War, and on the whole the most important contribution to our knowledge of the Allied conduct of the war on the Western front. The larger questions of national military policies facing the governments at London and Paris have been set forth in Sir William Robertson's *Soldiers and Statesmen.* General Charteris takes the point of perspective of British Headquarters, but deals with everything within that horizon: political and personal issues no less than military matters, and with the Western front as a whole as well as the British sector. Politics and personalities he approaches with a refreshing frankness, using the direct word rather than circumlocutions or cryptic allusions—yet always with fairness, courtesy, and good temper. Military operations are surveyed from a Headquarters standpoint in broad outlines, examining essential points closely but never drifting into a detailed combat narrative or into technical angles. The sense of proportion is remarkable; the author has skillfully avoided reiterating matters already set forth in print; and there is a true Haig touch in the serene temper with which he keeps to the subject without being disturbed or diverted by controversial misrepresentations. (No less so in the way he avoids defending Haig by pointing out the failures of troops or subordinate echelons.)

The author says next to nothing of himself, but it is evident that few men can have been so well placed to know Haig's mind and to set forth his part in the war. After having served as his military secretary in India and at Aldershot, Charteris went to France on Haig's Staff as Intelligence Officer of the 1st Corps, then of the 1st Army, and finally at G.H.Q.—where he remained until almost the end of the war. For a long period he was thus in the closest personal contact with his chief, and his staff duties involved taking a direct and responsible part in the actual conduct of operations, as well as in the general problem of relations with the French and with the home front. "From the earliest days of our association I was deeply impressed with the greatness of Haig's mind and character, and both for this reason and in the ordinary discharge of my duties I preserved careful records of all the important incidents and conversations. I have drawn freely on these papers in the preparation of this book." The author is thus a methodical observer, writing of most things more or less at first hand; what is still more important, he has the clear grasp of intricate matters, the poise, and the habit of measured statement that make him a sound historian.

The character portrait is no less valuable than the historical narrative. We learn for one thing that Haig was the direct opposite to the adroit and malicious caricature offered by Winston Churchill and certain other writers—the stereotyped "regular", impeccably dressed and brainless, advancing his career by smooth conformity and friendly influences in high places. Haig was a strongly marked intellectual type: a figure who stood aloof, rather lonely, with curiously little of the camaraderie of British regimental life—to the end "he neither courted nor acquired popularity". But from the time he left Sandhurst at the head of his class he stood out by his professional keenness. Although without literary tastes or similar intellectual interests, he became an omnivorous reader of military history and science; as a young officer he learned French and German, and spent his leave in France and Germany in professional studies. Sir Evelyn Wood wrote: "Haig knows more about the German army than any officer in England"—and from the time he graduated from the Staff College he was "a marked man". This early reputation gave him the opportunities that followed immediately afterward, in Egypt and South Africa.

This strictly professional training did not develop "militarist" views and convictions. Haig rejected Lord Roberts's panacea of conscription; on the other hand, in contrast to Henry Wilson and those who had faith only in highly trained regulars and expected a short and strategically decisive conflict, Haig believed in the citizen soldier (properly trained) —and long before 1914 he affirmed the conviction that a European war would be a long struggle fought out to exhaustion. Under Haldane it fell to him to take a leading part in that critically important reorganization which developed a national army built up around a nucleus of regulars. Haig's professional development and beliefs were thus a logical preparation for the test to follow—the prolongation of the war, which so astonished the nation, was to him axiomatic. It was an unnecessary mischance that the first Commander-in-Chief and his closest advisers held wholly different conceptions and were ill able to grasp the character of modern war. For the first time we have set forth, with some clarity and frankness, the incompetent working at cross-purposes at Sir John French's Headquarters, and the disloyalty to Kitchener, Joffre, and his own subordinates which finally displaced him. No less illuminating are the revisions and more complete statements of fact as to the confusions of policy and personal conflicts which led to the Nivelle speculation of 1917, the Executive War Board expedient early in 1918, and finally the Supreme Command. Without disparaging Foch, the facts brought forward undoubtedly make necessary a far-reaching revision of our common conception of the Supreme Command, and of the actual part of Foch in the 1918 campaign. It becomes clearer than ever that the final offensives were a case of Haig against the field. Striding ahead of Foch, with his own government disbelieving and disapproving, Haig carried through the strategical conception and the actual fighting which suddenly put victory within immediate reach. Outside evidence indicates fairly clearly that in this most essential passage of Haig's military reputation General Charteris, instead of forcing the point, has been content with an understatement.

T. H. Thomas.

The Aftermath. By the Right Honorable WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1929. Pp. xiv, 502. $5.00.)

A WORD at the outset about the title. On both cover and title-page appear the dates "1918–28". It had been better, had they been omitted. Dates have certain recognized implications. In this case, the expectations they raise have hardly been fulfilled. For, whatever else *The Aftermath* is, it is not a history of the last decade, nor even a sketch of it. What is it then? A vivid picture of Europe on the morrow of the Armistice, an intensely graphic description of the struggle with the problems of peace and reconstruction; but partial and incomplete.

But the author has his defense: he did not set out to tell the whole story; his aim was "to show the stepping-stones of fate", to choose "out of an incomprehensible fecundity of violent and interesting facts . . . those that really mattered". So he has chosen the British Demobilization, the Peace Conference, Bolshevism and the Allies, the Irish Settlement, Turkish Nationalism. That is all. Those certainly mattered. But so also did the German Revolution, the setting up of the Succession States, the Fascist Revolution. They, too, were big with consequences. But the former mattered more to Mr. Churchill, and rightly, for he was deeply involved in them—*quorum pars magna.* The principle of selection is clear; he writes of what he himself has seen and known. *The Aftermath* is a "personal narrative", to use his own words; not a history, but "a contemporary contribution to history". And as such a contribution, invaluable.

Of course, it disregards nearly every canon of scientific history, being neither objective, impersonal, judicial, nor even "well documented". But it is precisely these technical defects that give it its peculiar value. Would that we had more "personal narratives", and that they were all as spontaneous and thrilling as this one! *The Aftermath* will be *read* when the "standard histories" are only *referred to.* For, think what one will of Mr. Churchill's politics, there is no gainsaying his art. His pen moves with a freedom and a sweep that fairly fascinates, with an ease and sureness that proclaim him a master of phrase and figure. His style is vigorous, racy, picturesque, dramatic.

Few books have provoked livelier discussion or more diverse opinions. The reviewers have run the whole gamut, from extravagant praise to unsparing condemnation. "Onesided", "fiercely polemical", "rancorous", "perversion of history", are countered by "greatest contribution", "indispensable", "classic". And, curiously, nearly every verdict on the book seems to entail one on the man. So we find "audacious", "vindictive", "disingenuous", "militaristic", "adventurer", matched by "candid", "human", "broad-visioned", "moderate". Somehow, one suspects that too often judgment has been warped by feeling, and that the blow aimed at the book is intended for the author. That is easily understood. To persons of the opposite temperament Mr. Churchill is anathema. His realism antagonizes the sentimentalist; his zeal for action alarms the irresolute; his opportunism outrages the consistent.

But our present concern is with Mr. Churchill's own opinions, not with the critics.

And, first, as regards the Peace. What he himself would have had was a prompt settlement, with effective guarantees: a League of Nations *with force*; the reconciliation of Germany; reparations on the principle of equality of sacrifice. But the Peace Conference hesitated, shuffled, bungled. The one moment when prompt and decisive action might have availed was lost, irrevocably. The blame falls upon the leaders, but chiefly upon Wilson. His first error was in going to Paris at all; his second, in not coöperating with Lloyd George and Clemenceau. "He might have made everything swift and easy. He made everything slower and more difficult" (p. 478). His failure was due to his lack of the sense of the immediate and the concrete. Not even the idea of the League of Nations owed its inception to him. But he made it his own, and "it is in the establishment and ascendancy of a new international society that his memory will be enshrined" (p. 147). Not altogether ungenerous, that!

Mr. Churchill has been charged with seeking to discredit Lloyd George, and, to make it worse, by innuendo rather than openly. Again, the reading of the book "in the light of the author's character"! Read with an unprejudiced eye, his words lend little support to such a charge. True, he differed repeatedly with Lloyd George, but always openly and candidly. For his personal qualities, and especially his attitude toward his colleagues, he had deep and sincere respect. He is not blind to his errors—his surrender to popular clamor in 1918; his failure to include Asquith in the Peace Delegation; his hesitation regarding Russia; above all, his costly and irreparable miscalculation in the Near Eastern situation. But he charitably allows much for the complexity of the problems, the confusion of the times, and the exigencies of politics. And, in the Irish Settlement, though he does not agree with his conduct, he accords him the honor of the solution.

His own positions, on Ireland, Russia, the Near East, Reparations, he defends, naturally. For all difficulties his remedy is essentially one and the same—prompt, energetic, unequivocal action, with a view to a speedy settlement. In dealing with Ireland he would have coupled "a tremendous onslaught (on lawlessness) with the fairest offer". With Turkey he would have had "a real, final and, above all, prompt peace", and would have forced Greece to acquiesce. With Russia he would have coöperated, if possible; failing that, have intervened with force. With Germany his policy would have aimed at conciliation and restoration. No halfway measures; action, energetic, and effective action!

On most points the event has proved the soundness of his position. On Russia, however, his judgment slipped. His premises were too narrow; his perspective too limited; he showed himself singularly lacking in historical sense. His language is immoderate, and his tone has all the stridency of the anti-Jacobin.

Such is *The Aftermath,* a brilliant picture by a master hand, instinct with movement, aglow with color. It is not the last word, not even on the few topics of which it treats. But, however much it may be corrected or supplemented, it will always challenge attention as a prime source of information, and a most illuminating commentary on the men and the events of its time.

THEODORE COLLIER.

Soviet Rule in Russia. By WALTER RUSSELL BATSELL. (New York: Macmillan. 1929. Pp. ix, 857. $6.00.)

Humanity Uprooted. By MAURICE HINDUS. (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1929. Pp. xix, 369. $3.00.)

IN these books two American investigators, fortunate in acquaintance with the Russian language, essay to discover and discuss the relations between theory and practice, facade and inner reality, in contemporary Soviet Russia. Mr. Batsell means his book "to serve as a foundation for studies of how Soviet Russia is ruled". Mr. Hindus attempts "to give a picture of the results of the revolutionary effort to uproot ancient institutions and to refashion the ways of man". The former thus concentrates his attention, and even then, in his preface at least, disclaims finality. The latter takes all Russia for his canvas, and, while he is persistent in leaving questions unanswered and in posing dilemmas, he inevitably ventures on more sweeping generalizations and resolutions of impression. Appropriately enough Mr. Batsell's book has all the apparatus of scholarship and Mr. Hindus's none.

Yet it must be said at once that Mr. Batsell has not written, apparently did not intend to write, an entirely impartial or objective study. He has several definite dislikes and disapprovals which he does not attempt to conceal—Asia or "the Mongol"; Jews, Russian and French; dictatorship, Russian, if not Italian; communism; and the Communist Party. Moreover he confesses to being impressed by what is, after all, still an imponderable in history, the effect of Free Mason and Jewish revolutionary conspiracy, such as has been discussed in Mrs. Nesta Webster's books. Finally, he ventures on prophecy, a particularly dangerous proceeding, it would seem, as regards Russia. Grant the author these quite legitimate personal privileges, however, and the merits of his work come out in higher relief than they otherwise would. They are largely those of a good systematic treatment conscientiously explored to its ultimate documentary evidence. Especially praiseworthy is the practice of adding to each chapter the documents referred to in it. In this way the author and his sponsors (the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College) have provided 321 pages of source material, *i.e.,* over half as much as is contained in our only other important collection of translated Russian documents, the late Professor Golder's

(Macmillan, 1927), which covers a period earlier than Mr. Batsell's. This total does not include the very generous quotation in the 475 pages of text, a twenty-page critical bibliography, and 18 pages given to good diagrammatic illustrations and their explanation. Equipped in this way and revealing great industry in exacting research, the author achieves two ends. He provides an outline constitutional history and then fills in the outline with detailed institutional analysis. Thus the first six chapters of this book are historical, covering the revolutionary period down to 1928, and the remaining seven are given over to half-historical, half-analytical examinations of Congresses of Soviets, Central Executive Committees, Soviets of People's Commissars, the problem of nationalities since 1923, Local Administration, the Communist Party, and the Communist International. In the first group he is ingenious and clear in revealing the disintegration and re-integration of the Union and the deft device of using an alleged identity of interest among Russian and non-Russian workers and peasants to defeat the superficial federalism and local autonomy of the Union. By this means the RSFSR (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic) first served as a model for the other five republics, then controlled them, and finally with them entered the Union which it very effectively dominates. In this section the author keeps consistently before the reader the contradictions between theory and practice and is skillful in pulling into the picture the constitutional amendments and additions by which the structures were finally, fairly neatly and efficiently, dovetailed. Readers of this section will find points of difference with Mr. Batsell, most of which, like his misleading statement as to the speed of the nationalization of industry, can be explained by necessities of proportion. It might be held, in addition, that in view of past Russian history, of other contemporary defeats of democracy, and other successful imperialisms, the author might show less indignation and be less inclined to blame individuals in Russia and the behavior of foreign administrations for the course of events which he deplores.

The second section is probably in its systematic originality and detail unlikely to be supplanted for some time. Students have needed such studies and they will find honest, deep spade-work here, and will have been prepared for it by the earlier chapters. They will also notice a greater readiness to consider Russian experimentation relatively. Political institutions are described, analyzed, and given a pattern of growth. The realities of political power are traced back to the presidium of the central executive committee of the Union. Dominating it is found the Communist Party, and in turn its central justification for existence is revealed—world revolution through the Communist International. In this section a more patient attempt to explain Communist theories would help greatly, as would an attempt to explain as well as reveal such apparent incongruities as the presence of men like Krassin in the party, the use of the International in foreign policy, and so on. These and the criticisms above seem worth making because of the merits which they should not conceal. Mr. Batsell's book would be noteworthy if only as basic information on his subject. His skillful arrangement and use of that information makes it far more than that. Unfortunately it is too long and too detailed to be more closely examined here.

Mr. Hindus invites shorter treatment in this periodical because of his impressionistic method, systematic though it is in general structure. He has an advantage over Mr. Batsell in his Russian birth, in some acquaintance with pre-revolutionary Russia, in comprehensive familiarity with Russian literature, and in very extensive and frequent wanderings about Russia since 1923. Yet the reader will discover one consistent failing in his book which is surprising in so well-informed a person. It is that he ventures often to speak of the Soviet Union, its people, and its character, as if they were single entities. Such a book as his should contain emphatic and frequent reminders of Russian diversities, in peoples and in all the varieties of their environments. Aside from that he writes most interestingly and, as is natural in a general treatment, his greatest contribution is in the nature of shrewd, suggestive interpretation. He divides his subject into three—Institutions (*e.g.*, religion, property, the family), People (*e.g.*, peasant, proletarian, communist, intelligentsia, Jew), and Quests (England, revolution, war, America). He caters to a popular audience by giving a disproportionate space to sex. Yet there is no chapter which does not contain original and considerable estimates, and also nearly always the bases for differing interpretations are provided. Considering the forward view of much in his later chapters Mr. Hindus restrains very well the tendency to prophesy. He occasionally falls into the modern Russian fault of confusing aim and achievement and he can exaggerate some of the delicate overtones he captures. Perhaps one can sum up both these books best by suggesting that Mr. Batsell could get imaginative insight by reading Mr. Hindus, and Mr. Hindus a sense of caution and of the cogency of evidence by reading Mr. Batsell.

J. Bartlet Brebner.

Modern Chinese Civilization. By Dr. A. F. Legendre, translated from the French by Elsie Martin Jones. (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1929. Pp. xxiii, 295. $2.75.)

We have in this work the reflections of a scientifically-minded European on the economic and social standards of Szechuan province rather than a treatise on "Modern Chinese Civilization". During part of his twenty years in China the author was director of the Imperial School of Medicine at Chengtu, which gave him an opportunity to determine the inadequacies of life in Szechuan, at least on the physical and material side. On the basis of these contacts we are not surprised to find the author depressed by the sordidness of the lot of the masses; by the impotence of agriculture (as now carried on) to supply sufficient food; by the evils of the family system; the lack of utility in dress, architecture, and a hundred other things that he is sure we have managed better in the West. He points out that stock-raising, the use of milk products, the weaving of wool and linen clothing, and the manufacture of glass have all been neglected by the Chinese. They did, indeed, discover the use of silk, porcelain, and lacquer, but these are not of immediate utility to the masses, and, moreover, are produced better elsewhere. The author is convinced that even on the cultural side Chinese civilization is grossly overrated; her history is nothing but a chronicle, her painting has left the path of realism, and her poetry is negligible. China has escaped her just fate only by the isolation and mutual jealousies of European nations, and the only thing that can save her now is the timely intervention of foreign powers.

Considerable parts of this book read as though they had been written prior to the fall of the Manchus in 1911. No mention is made of the tremendous literary and intellectual revolution of the past twelve years, the rise of a vernacular press, modern universities, public libraries, and a score of other movements that betoken a genuine cultural renaissance. One wonders, too, to what extent the observations of a westerner in Szechuan province, in the turbulent decades just past, can be taken as typical of modern Chinese civilization as a whole. This province, perhaps by reason of its isolation or its proximity to lawless border tribes, is proverbially disturbed, as the following Chinese saying shows: "When the rest of the country is not thinking of rebellion, Szechuan has already rebelled; and after the rest of the country has recovered its stability, Szechuan is still at war." Therefore, no matter how authentic for any particular region a book of this kind may be, unless the reader is unusually critical, the picture left in his mind may be but a distortion of the truth.

Is there any basis for the assertion that a city in which a son had murdered his parent "was condemned to disappear, was razed to the ground"? Such stories may have arisen to give point to a moral, but one wonders why they are never localized, nor their fate described in those "chronicles" of which the author seems but vaguely aware. And whence comes the curious belief that "Chinese dress, like the Chinese house, has not varied for thousands of years"? This statement is disproved by scores of mortuary remains, by hundreds of engravings preserved in illustrated books of the past eight hundred years, and by thousands of figures in old Chinese temples adorned in the styles of former dynasties. In fact it would be easy to demonstrate that fashions in clothing have altered more radically in China in the past millennium than they have in Japan.

To compare Eastern and Western cultures almost solely on the basis of western superiorities is as futile as it is unfair. A civilization, like a work of art, can be judged on the basis of goals which it has set for itself, but hardly by ends that are alien to it. One who believes that the technological control of the West is the only goal worth striving after is scarcely in the right mood to assess a culture that for ages has believed in, or at least has striven for, other values. Why lament that the beauties of Greek and Roman literature are unknown to the Chinese when there are much vaster areas in Chinese literature still unknown to ourselves. It is all too true that the Chinese have failed in the conquest of nature, but it is equally true that they have ventured into other realms in which they did not fail. At any rate they are swiftly making up for this lack, and in addition they enjoy a heritage of their own, which they have never been moved to blazon to the world, but of which they have no reason to be ashamed.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Earliest Diplomatic Documents on America: the Papal Bulls of 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas Reproduced and Translated. With Historical Introduction and Explanatory Notes by PAUL GOTTSCHALK. (Berlin: Paul Gottschalk. 1927. Pp. 91 and CXXX plates. $66.50.)

IT would be both flattery and slander to say of this work: " Good, but nothing new," and not unjust to characterize it as poor but with much in it that is new. The facsimiles of the four papal bulls and the treaty of Tordesillas are excellent. The two bulls *Inter caetera* have been reproduced in facsimile before, but not in a size to be legible. Here they are as legible as the originals and should, therefore, be welcomed as new and virtually original sources for paleographers, linguists, and historians. The three maps are reprints of facsimiles, but equally good, and for practical purposes as serviceable as their prototypes, which means, except for the absence of coloring, equal to the originals. They are followed by a Bibliographical List and this by a Selected List of Maps, prepared by E. L. Stevenson, on which is indicated the Line of Demarcation. Both of these compilations are new secondary sources of distinct interest and value, despite the defects, neither few nor slight, in the bibliography. Among the imprints reproduced is one of the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4, 1493, lately acquired by the author, which is apparently the best one known.

The majestic volume might have been made less heavy by the omission of the three maps on fifty-four plates. They are of little or no use to the reader, and so far as they may illustrate the text, could have been replaced by one or two maps on a single plate.

The facsimiles of texts are scattered through the book, numbered separately from the pages, so that they can be found only by guessing and hunting. There are no running titles, and this defect is only emphasized by the typing of other captions, so as to look like running titles and be taken for them (p. 15). All of this may be artistic to followers of William Morris, but to a studious reader it is plain ugly. The same may be said of the failure to indicate by indention or otherwise the beginning of a paragraph.

The explanatory notes appear, at least in part, to have been written in German and translated or mistranslated, into English. One can hardly account otherwise for their containing such jargon as the following (p. 15):

> Grotius's statement that a donation does not make a sovereign, but the consequent delivery of a thing and the subsequent possession thereof, seems to correspond to the provision in the bulls that not the mere discovery, but the actual temporal sovereignty of the islands or lands in the aforementioned regions establishes to other Christian princes the right to keep such property.

And such blundering as this (*id.*):

> The title by discovery and by possession was only [alone] recognized at that period just as it is acknowledged today.

The translation of the catalogue description of a bull (p. 19): ". . . conceding . . . the full sovereignty of all lands discovered and to be discovered and conquered in the New World by Columbus" should read: ". . . conceding . . . full sovereignty of all lands discovered or to be discovered and conquered in the new world found by Columbus."

In 1917 the Carnegie Institution of Washington brought out a volume of *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648,* edited by Frances Gardiner Davenport. It is only as an improvement on Miss Davenport's work or as an addition to it that the one before us can be properly appreciated. It has an advantage over its predecessor in its facsimiles, together with the other novelties already mentioned. In one respect its arrangement is to be preferred. Each page of Latin or Spanish is faced by its translation. Miss Davenport has each entire document followed by its entire translation. The general plan is substantially the same in both works, but in the labor of carrying it out, Miss Davenport has shown herself the more faithful and successful. Her notes and documents follow one another according to a uniform system, which, together with her sensible typography makes her work easy to consult.

Mr. Gottschalk's is comparatively erratic. On his first document he begins with the facsimiles and follows them with his historical and explanatory notes; on the second he begins with his notes and follows them with the facsimiles; on the third he returns to his original order, and on the fourth he again reverses that; on the fifth, the Treaty of Tordesillas, he begins with his notes, follows them with a transliteration and translation, and for the first time ends with a facsimile. In this case, the transliteration and translation are not his. For their authorship the reader is referred to "J. B. Thacher: *Christopher Columbus*". In this work he is referred to Navarrete, and there all the reference he finds is the note: "*Original Reg. del Arch. de Indias en Sevilla.*" This gives the depository but not the document. How different from Miss Davenport. Referring to her transliteration, she says: "The text is from the original manuscript of the ratification by Ferdinand and Isabella in the National Archives at Lisbon, gav. 17, maço 2, no. 24." Why Gottschalk should give a facsimile of a Portuguese original and no transliteration or translation of it, but instead, a transliteration at third hand and a translation at second hand of a Spanish version, is not satisfactorily explained. According to his preface, his translation of the treaty was revised by the librarian of a university. This accusation is hard to reconcile with the document's being, as it purports to be "Reprinted from J. B. Thacher: *Christopher Columbus*" (p. 55). By adopting Thacher's transliteration borrowed from Navarrete, and Thacher's own translation, Mr. Gottschalk makes himself responsible for Navarrete's tampering with the original by substituting the word *sur* for *sol* and for the consequent nonsense in Navarrete and worse nonsense in Thacher. A passage of the Spanish reads as follows:

Para que . . . allí donde [*su rota*] *se acabare se haga el punto y señal que convenga por grados de Sur* [*sol*] *ó de Norte, ó por singladuras de leguas, ó como mejor se pudiere concordar.*

Freely and correctly translated this would read about as follows: "in order that . . . there where it [their course] may end they may determine their position by observation, according to circumstances, of the sun or of the north star, or by daily runs in leagues [dead reckoning], or as they may otherwise prefer and agree."

Thacher makes it: "in order that . . . there at the termination of the said distance, the indication and sign shall be made which shall be suitable by degrees from south or from north or by single leagues, or as can be better agreed upon."

The notes of Mr. Gottschalk are fuller than those of Miss Davenport. Apart from their faulty English, they are a distinct contribution to the discussion of the authority and sanction for papal partition of the world and of the uncertain date of the bull *Eximiae devotionis.* He makes this date May 4 and Miss Davenport May 3, 1493.

In his indication of the known documents available (originals and manuscript copies) Mr. Gottschalk is generally in agreement with Miss Davenport, but his few disagreements with her are interesting. Of the bull *Dudum siquidem* he cites one original in Seville (pp. 45-46, 78). Miss Davenport cites two originals in Seville (p. 79); he cites three copies, two in Seville and one in Washington; Miss Davenport cites one in Washington (pp. 79-80). Of the Treaty of Tordesillas, each cites two originals, one Portuguese in Seville and one Spanish in Lisbon; Mr. Gottschalk cites a copy in Seville, Miss Davenport cites no copy. In speculating as to who is right, one must consider that Miss Davenport wrote about ten years before Mr. Gottschalk, and that it is, therefore, possible that both are right.

The Bibliographical List gives *Berchet, Gugl. Christ* for *Berchet, Gugl*; *l'Isle—Espagnole* for *l'Isle Espagnole*, *Kretschmar* for *Kretschmer*, *La Fuente* for *Lafuente*, *Bartholomé* for *Bartolomé*, *Carvajol* for *Carva-*

jal, Puttic for *Puttick*, etc. It cites the Ms. copy of the bull of Alexander VI., *Dudum siquidem*, contained in Columbus's *Book of Privileges* in the Library of Congress, but not his second bull *Inter caetera*, contained in the same codex. Under *Columbus, Christopher, Book of Privileges*, one finds the Stevens publication of the Paris codex with facsimiles, but no mention of the city of Genoa's publication in facsimile of the Genoa Codex, which as a reproduction of the original and substitute for it, is a better piece of work than that of Stevens.

In citing the works of Peter Martyr, it begins with the 1516 edition of the Decades, omitting the 1511 edition. This contains a rare map which, according to Nordenskiöld, is "of interest as the first printed Spanish map of some part of the New World, and perhaps as the first map printed in Spain". It is rarely or never found in the later editions.

In the translation of the bull *Dudum siquidem* the date is given as "September 25 . . ." (p. 51). It should be "September 26 . . ." as given in other places and in Miss Davenport. In view of the errors and defects in this work, any one thinking of consulting it would do well to try Miss Davenport first and, if that source fails, to resort to this one with caution.

John Bigelow.

The Coming of the White Man, 1492–1848. By Herbert Ingram Priestley, Professor of Mexican History, University of California, and Librarian of Bancroft Library. [Vol. I., History of American Life series, ed. by A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xxii, 411. $4.00.)

The present offering in the "History of American Life" is devoted to the non-English colonists of North America. Although entitled the introductory volume of the series, it has been preceded by four others. This is fortunate for two of the companion volumes are devoted to the English colonies and thus we have a double basis for comparison in pioneer effort—between the English and their chief rivals, and within the present volume, between the rivals themselves. Apparently both the editors and the authors of this series have taken pains to make clear the salient points in this comparison.

The volume touches on the colonizing activities of four nations; hence it lacks the unity of its fellows. On the other hand the colonial field is a restricted one and its similar or contrasting phases become more vivid when brought closely together. This intimate juxtaposition of itself imparts a certain unity and serves to fix more firmly the details of land holding, trade policy, church organization, social expression, and other activities common to all colonies and particularly emphasized in this series.

Generous space in view of press limitations is given to Mexico and its border areas. This is to be expected from an author trained in the "California School" and himself distinguished in the Mexican field. Three chapters serve to establish the Spanish pioneers on the Mexican tableland, to advance them northward and to found their outposts in New Mexico and Florida. It is not the ordinary story of exploration and conquest that is afforded us, but a clear and convincing view of the process by which living conditions were initiated in a strange and difficult environment. Then follow three chapters devoted to economic conditions, to the elements of population, especially the Indians, and to the cultural offerings of three centuries. The "Last Cycle of New Spain" sums up the changes of policy introduced under the Bourbon sovereigns and brings out the greater activity manifested on the northern border of Mexico when that region was threatened by Indians and by European rivals. Thus the Spaniard draws seven of the twelve chapters and four-sevenths of the narrative text.

Two chapters give us life of the French in the northern colonies, while a third is devoted to their establishments on the lower Mississippi, the "Middle Border". Relatively less material seems available for this part of the volume and the offering, though worthy, is less original in content. The same may be said of the two chapters devoted to the Dutch and Swedes. Perhaps these last should have been developed, as a previous reviewer of the series has intimated, along with the studies of life in the English colonies. One must congratulate Professor Priestley, however, for his sane and sympathetic discussion of "Our Dutch Heritage". Lack of space, we assume, has prevented any adequate mention of Central America and the West Indies. The author and editors do not need to be reminded that those regions form part of North America. But they have stretched the adjective "American" far beyond the limits of the United States and have given us sketches of life among three of its non-English racial stocks—a concession that would not have been possible a decade ago.

One notes in passing that New France and New Spain—and New Netherland, too, for that matter—were too widely extended for the resources of their respective homelands. In this respect the Appalachians proved, so our author thinks, no mean advantage to the English. The Spaniard tried to meet the situation by combining missions and the local militia but neither of these means proved effective. The French brought over military contingents as a means of immediate defense and a source for further settlements; the Dutch did little or nothing. In fact none of these nations, nor the English, really tried to fill up the continent of which each claimed an inordinate share.

In the relations of European colonists with the Indians, the two alternatives were apparently extermination or exploitation. But as Priestley points out, self-interest determined policy in each case. The Spaniard used the native in forced labor; the Frenchman cheated him out of his furs; the Englishman drove him from his accustomed haunts. The first two desired to bestow upon the savage both their faith and their blood. They appear to have succeeded but our author seems to detect a tendency on their part toward savagery rather than the reverse. There is little class distinction, he finds, among the French; a most rigid caste system exists in Spanish circles. Neither makes much use of the trading corporation, although the Spanish colonial system, with its principle of royal monopoly in land, trade, industry, and religion, is in itself a vast business organization. Furthermore intellectual independence is not one of the fruits of colonization. The period is one of primitive contacts.

These and many similar observations does the author bring to our attention in simple but convincing narrative, bolstered up by concrete description. One notes a sixteenth century sea voyage, the funeral of a viceroy, the feudal régime on the St. Lawrence, mission holdings on the Mexican border. Perhaps this border is too evident, in its narrow but picturesque environment, but Professor Priestley is thoroughly at home there and makes us appreciate it both for itself and as a symbol of the wider empire of which it was once a part. If he had done nothing else the bibliography which forms his closing chapter would make us his grateful debtors, especially that part relating to New Spain.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies. Edited by FRANCES GARDINER DAVENPORT. Volume II. 1650–1697. (Washington: Carnegie Institution. 1929. Pp. vi, 386. $3.00.)

IT fell to my lot to review the first volume of the present collection of treaties, but the task of reviewing the second is simplified, if not indeed rendered practically superfluous, by the just and understanding preface contributed by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, who, having been in close touch with Miss Davenport's work up to the time of her lamented death two years ago, pays a well merited tribute to the exact and unostentatious learning, integrity of mind and character, and devotion to duty which united to give to whatever she did an exceptionally authentic and informative quality. The first volume, which appeared in 1917, extended to the treaty of Münster of 1648. The manuscript left behind by the editor, which brings the collection down to the treaties of Utrecht of 1713, will furnish material to fill two volumes of print, of which the present volume is the first. This volume includes the treaties covering the period from 1650 to 1697, ending with the treaty of Ryswick.

The treaty text is in each instance preceded by a copiously annotated introduction explaining the position of the treaty not only in the history of European diplomacy but also in its relation to the history of colonial America, and this is followed by bibliographic notes. Then comes the treaty text, which is also minutely annotated, so that the significance of each clause may be readily grasped and every obscurity as far as possible done away with. Every care, it may be needless to say, was taken in order to secure in every instance the most authoritative text.

The volume published in 1917 contained forty treaty texts. The present volume contains forty-four. Among the contracting parties we find the United Netherlands, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, France, Savoy, Portugal, Spain, the United Colonies of New England, New Netherland, Virginia, and Nova Scotia; and among the subjects dealt with are lands and boundaries, the island of St. Thomas, partition, guaranty, peace, truce, commerce, alliance, the conduct of hostilities, and neutrality. It appears that Miss Davenport had intended to give in a general introduction a comprehensive survey of the course of European diplomacy respecting America during the second half of the seventeenth century, but was prevented by illness from so doing. From the special or particular introductions, however, the attentive and studious reader will be enabled to gain, in connection with the texts themselves, an intelligent view of the course of events and of the combinations, manoeuvres and contests by which it was influenced. The introduction to the peace of Ryswick gives, for instance, in the space of eight richly annotated pages, a strikingly detailed but equally compact account of the conflicts of interest, controversies, and contests that led up to that celebrated international act.

The designation of a work such as that now in question merely as a collection or compilation of treaties utterly fails to convey a correct or adequate conception of its character and contents. Rarely will a treatise or narrative of equal bulk bear the impress of so much painstaking investigation, or of an examination of sources so critical and complete. In reality it is in a true sense a scholar's manual and guide for the period it covers and the subject to which it relates.

John Bassett Moore.

The American Colonies, 1492–1750. By Marcus Wilson Jernegan, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of Chicago. [Epochs of American History.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1929. Pp. xxxiii, 457. $1.60.)

The little book by Dr. Thwaites on the colonial era in the Epochs of American History did good service as a text for many years. It is now replaced by the volume from the pen of Professor Jernegan. In the past three decades scholars have worked significant changes in our knowledge and understanding of the colonial period. Dr. Jernegan stands high among these scholars. His volume expresses fully and clearly the new knowledge and wisdom.

The very proportions and emphasis in his book at once reveal the new attitudes and approaches. In point of time seven of the fifteen chapters are given to the years from the founding of Jamestown to the Revolution of 1689, six to the following decades prior to 1750. No longer is the eighteenth century a neglected era, misunderstood because neglected. Here we find a treatment of the great immigration of non-English stock, the conquest of the West by the advancing tide of population, the problems of frontier defense, the growing antagonisms between coastal and frontier societies. Here we gather an estimate of the organs and nature of imperial control, the growth of the colonial assemblies to a controlling position, and a careful balancing of the relations between colonies and mother country in the imperial connection.

In point of emphasis six chapters deal with social, cultural, and economic history, exhibiting the recent healthy tendency to understand life itself. These chapters are especially well done; one would expect this because it is a field which Dr. Jernegan has made peculiarly his own. Land, labor, local industry, trade overseas; religion, education, the regulation of manners and morals; and a host of other subjects having to do with social conduct and thought are clearly set forth. Merchant and planter, preacher and lawyer, local and royal officials, common man and pioneer, white servant, black slave and red man, all stand forth in proper place.

It is not easy to describe and explain two centuries of growth within the compass of a little volume. Spatial limitations give slight opportunity for the adequate explanation of some points or for literary embroidery. The book is well written, in a clear, simple and objective way, at times embellished with apt and picturesque quotations from the sources. Also it is not an easy task to know how to arrange the material, for there are so many colonies, each with its own temper and genius and interests. There are other designs which perhaps would serve well to bring out the chronological sequence and the interplay of factors and forces, yet we feel that the pattern of this volume is well fashioned.

There are five good maps in colors and lists of references are copious. Each chapter has its own bibliography and the total number of pages devoted to reference material runs high—perhaps too high. All told it is an excellent book.

W. T. Root.

Thomas Jefferson, the Apostle of Americanism. By Gilbert Chinard. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1929. Pp. xviii, 548. $5.00.)

Professor Chinard's excellent biography of Thomas Jefferson is the fruition of years of patient probing into the background of the statesman's mental processes and philosophy. Others have treated of Jefferson's political activities with equal sagacity and more gusto, but no one of his numerous biographers have made such a meticulous investigation into the genesis of his thought. No American statesman has suffered more from misrepresentations of hostile partisan writers, and no misrepresentations have been more persistent and damaging than those with which the Franco-American historian has dealt. For generations Americans have been asked to believe that Jefferson's democracy was born of his blind idolatry for the more radical of the French philosophers; that his political creed was built on the theories of these philosophers. Generations have been almost persuaded that Jefferson's warm sympathy for the destruction of French feudalism in the Revolution made him more French than American, and that he was willing to sacrifice American interests to his partiality for the French. No one can read Professor Chinard's scholarly study without realizing the absurdity of these charges. And it is especially gratifying that these false impressions have been obliterated by a Frenchman.

Before undertaking this full length biography, the author came to know, as far as it is possible for any one to ascertain, just what the great political philosopher believed and how he came to his beliefs. The vitally important *Commonplace Book* had been permitted to rest under its cover of dust until Chinard began his intensive study of it. The immediate fruit of this study was his illuminating introduction to the book. Two other scholarly monographs on some phase of Jefferson's career and character also had preceded the biography. Through all these studies Professor Chinard was preparing himself to write what may well be called a biography of Jefferson's mind. The result is the conclusive disclosure that he owed practically nothing to Voltaire or Rousseau, and that he was more deeply indebted to various English philosophers.

Another effect of this book is to show that Jefferson was an original thinker, and not a borrower as his enemies would have us think. A profound student of the best thoughts on government and society he accepted none in whole, but extracted the best from all, and added his own ideas in the formulation of a distinctly American philosophy for which he fought unceasingly throughout his life. The biographer traces his influence on our institutional life and shows that none among the founders made a deeper, broader, more indelible impression.

The discussion of Jefferson's attitude toward the French Revolution, and of his life in Paris has never been so fairly done before. No one has done so much toward the recreation of his Parisian life; it seems a pity, and a marvel, that so little is known in an intimate way. No doubt Professor Chinard has followed all possible leads, and if he still leaves much to be desired, he has probably done all that can be done. Assuredly, he has dissipated many silly notions regarding Jefferson's attitude toward the Revolution and its leaders, and toward the policy of France later. It is amazing that so much of rank partisan propaganda on this subject should have found its way into reputable histories. Here we have it right—Jefferson rejoiced in the destruction of the feudalistic state, and was thoroughly aroused by the combination of world reactionaries, to crush the experiment in democracy, but, as the biographer shows, never was there a moment when his interest in France was not subordinated to his devotion to American interests.

Some fault will be found with the biographer's discussion of Jefferson as a political or party leader. Professor Chinard does not think he was "such a deep politician". Practical politicians know that Jefferson was perhaps the most consummate politician we have produced. But in his discussion of the Presidency and of the later period the author is admirable. Chinard's *Jefferson* is an interesting and a wise interpretation—along with Hirst's, the best one volume full length biography.

Claude G. Bowers.

Correspondence of Andrew Jackson. Edited by JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., Late Professor in Smith College. Vol. IV. 1829–1832. (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1929. Pp. xxii, 508. $3.00, unbound; $4.00, bound.)

IN contrast with the third volume of Professor Bassett's *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, in which were contained the materials for a period of eight years, the fourth volume covers but four. Except for a few months, these coincide with the first presidential term of General Jackson. Before his lamented death, Professor Bassett had completed the editorial work for all six volumes of the series, with the exception of the prefaces for the last three. For this fourth volume the preface has fallen into what Dr. Jameson modestly calls the "inadequate" hands of the general editor—a description to which every one who reads it will accord a happy negation. For if Dr. Jameson's introduction is somewhat briefer and less technical than those for which Professor Bassett was responsible, it is certainly not only adequate but also marked by a scholarly divination of what is important in the volume, by a kindly sympathy with President Jackson, and by a sense of humor which results in such bits of characterization, as the reference to Van Buren's "perfect bedside manner", the description of the Eatons as "the major and his battle-scarred companion", and the allusion to "that formidable materfamilias, Mrs. Mary Barney, true daughter of old Samuel Chase".

As Professor Bassett wrote in the preface to the preceding volume, "It was as a man of sorrow, rather than as a man of resentment", that Jackson "became President": and the first document in the fourth volume is a pathetic letter written by the General to John Coffee which begins "I have this day got my dear Mrs J Tomb, compleated". Oppressed with this sorrow, with ill-health, and with the importunity of office seekers, the President was soon vexed by the wave of resentment which his cabinet appointments evoked, pained by the news of the sudden eclipse which befell the career of his political friend Sam Houston, and angered by the beginnings of the controversy over Mrs. Eaton. For this Eaton affair, so fraught with political significance, the documents bulk to a larger extent than for any other subject. It is made clear that Jackson's defense of Mrs. Eaton was to a degree an aftermath of the attacks which had been made upon Mrs. Jackson. At first it was Clay upon whom the responsibility for assailing Mrs. Eaton was laid by Jackson: but in May, 1830, before the revelation was made to him of Calhoun's alleged duplicity in the matter of the censure of Jackson in 1818, the President was attributing to the friends of Calhoun "most of the troubles, vexations and difficulties I have had to encounter, since my arrival in this city". He had by this time noted also the objections of Calhoun to his plan for the distribution of the surplus revenue, Calhoun's silence upon the bank question, and the fact that Calhoun was believed to have encouraged the passage of the South Carolina resolutions on the tariff. From this the transition was easy to the willingness to see in Calhoun the malevolent enemy which the South Carolinian certainly was not, and to the writing of such diatribes as, for example, that of September 6, 1831, which Professor Bassett without much exaggeration describes as "probably the most illogical utterance of a President of the United States".

Fortunately the papers offer much of varied interest beyond the ramifications of the Eaton affair and the quarrel with Calhoun. There were the difficulties and accomplishments of diplomacy, the tangle as to the Maine boundary, the settlement of the West India trade question, the treaties with France and Turkey, and the negotiations with Mexico conducted by Anthony Butler, of whose "frankness and honesty" the President wrote to Bustamente in a fog of sentiment quite as confused as the geography of his impression that the treaties of 1783 and 1814 gave the United States a southern boundary which ran to the Pacific. There are letters which afford glimpses of Van Buren, of John Randolph of Roanoke, of the President's faithful and devoted young secretary, Andrew J. Donelson, of old Jeremy Bentham in London. As the volume proceeds there is much of interest upon the veto of the Maysville road bill, upon the reconstitution of the Cabinet, upon Jackson's personal interest in Indian treaties, upon the earlier phases of the war with Nicholas Biddle, and, towards the end of 1832, upon the vigorous stand of the President in the matter of the situation in South Carolina.

Of the new sources of material upon which the editor has drawn for the contents of this volume, there may be noted especially the papers of Anthony Butler, in the possession of the University of Texas, and the papers of Edward Livingston made available by Brigadier General John Ross Delafield. Mr. Francis Rawle, of Philadelphia, examining this latter collection for his sketch of Livingston in the *American Secretaries of State,* seems to have come upon some papers which Professor Bassett did not see, and which appear definitely to settle Livingston's authorship of the nullification proclamation, except for a paragraph or two added by Jackson himself.

To the reviewer it seems that Dr. Jameson, in his Preface, perhaps under-estimates the positive personal views of Jackson upon the bank issue. It is entirely true that the President "sought the advice of his Cabinet officers and of other members of his administration". But he had previously sent to Felix Grundy a communication which led the latter to "doubt whether I can make a single suggestion which has not occurred to you on the subject of a National Bank". In this same connection, the draft of a letter to T. H. Benton is of particular interest, wherein Jackson, positively stating that his hostility to the Bank was not of recent origin but of long duration, confirms what had been maintained by an independent witness (Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States,* p. 183, note), that Jackson had done all he could to prevent the establishment of a branch of the Bank in Nashville. It should be added that, in a footnote upon page 13, Professor Bassett places upon James K. Polk the responsibility for the statement that the first draft of Jackson's inaugural address of 1829 contained the General's views upon the Bank of the United States, and that this paragraph was struck out after his arrival in Washington. But in his *Life of Andrew Jackson* Professor Bassett correctly recognized that Polk made the statement upon Jackson's written assertion of the fact. If there was an error, it was, therefore, Jackson's, not Polk's.

In conclusion, the reviewer is constrained to bear testimony to the interest which attaches to the reading, in connection with this volume, of Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick's "Autobiography of Martin Van Buren" in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1919, volume II.

St. George L. Sioussat.

The Tragic Era: the Revolution after Lincoln. By Claude G. Bowers. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. xxii, 567. $5.00.)

In 1885, William A. Dunning published a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University. His subject, *The Constitution of the United States in Civil War and Reconstruction.* There followed a series of essays which were collected and published in 1898—the author having become meanwhile professor of history at Columbia. The development of Professor Dunning's interest in the period of Reconstruction is well known; his own lectures and researches in that field; the aid and counsel which he provided with unstinted generosity for other students in the field; and the excellent series of monographs which he inspired—beginning with Garner's *Reconstruction in Mississippi* in 1901, and Fleming's *Reconstruction in Alabama* in 1905.

On that solid foundation, forty-four years after Dunning's thesis, Mr. Bowers has constructed his *Tragic Era.* It has been open to the professional, academic historian to weave the whole story together and to tell the tale in language that would reach the minds of an American public which is increasingly prepared to read history when entertainingly written. But the academic historian all too frequently does not write in this fashion—either because he can not, or because he is afraid his book will sell, and thus expose the low level of his standards. Mr. Bowers has succeeded where the academic historian has failed. He has produced a volume that is interesting, dramatic and—with an important exception—written in scholarly fashion.

An attractive feature of the work of Mr. Bowers is a telling style. Sometimes unconventional, but rarely, if ever, to an inartistic degree. Cumulative in its effects, as crisis succeeds crisis. The pen portraits are excellent: of Andrew Johnson; of Thaddeus Stevens, even if a trifle unrelenting—perhaps deservedly so; and of Sumner, which displays an especially keen insight into the man's spirit.

Beginning with the death of Lincoln and the joyful reliance of the radical Republicans on Andrew Johnson, Mr. Bowers traces the story of post-war Reconstruction through the bitter quarrel between the President and his Congress; through the gambols of carpetbaggers and Union Leaguers in the South; through the appalling scandals of the Grant régime, the gradual revival of home rule in the South, and the final removal of the troops from South Carolina in 1877. His bibliography includes most of the best material on his subject, both manuscript and monographic, although curiously omitting the Johnson, Stevens, and Sumner papers among the former, and some important special studies such as Haworth's *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876*.

The central contention of Mr. Bowers is that both in purpose and in execution the northern Republican conduct of the southern problem was characterized by abysmal ignorance, precipitous stupidity, flagrant partisanship, and sordid greed. With that conclusion, all judicially minded will have to agree. The United States would be a happier and more useful nation today if Reconstruction had been permeated with sanity and a clement spirit. But—and here is the one major complaint to be made of this otherwise most excellent book—the style is a bit too strident, the insistence upon northern ignorance, partisanship and corruption too continuous and sweeping,—until the reader, however sympathetic he may be with the main thesis, begins to rebel and to feel that the author protests too much. Too many opponents of the mistaken northern policy are portrayed as heroic in every virtue and accomplishment. Too many participants in the program of Reconstruction seem to have possessed an unrelieved composition of hatred and selfishness. Too many statements resemble that on page 219: "Immediately, the political parasites and looters, scalawags and scavengers, knaves and fools, took possession of the State Governments, and entered upon the pillaging of the stricken people." Admitting the justice of the main contention—and it surely must be admitted—the effectiveness of the indictment would have been increased by that restraint in expression which indicates that the words mean more than they say, rather than less. From the informed eminence of sixty years after, it is relatively easy to evaluate the outrage stories that poured from the South during the years immediately following the Civil War. Decades of investigating, sifting, and appraising have made a judgment more easy. But in the welter of confused charge and countercharge that Reconstruction produced, even an honest and merciful man might well become bewildered. Wilder stories became current belief in these United States of ours no longer ago than the World War.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

The National Civil Service Reform League, History, Activities, and Problems. By FRANK MANN STEWART, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Government, University of Texas. (Austin: University of Texas. 1929. Pp. viii, 304. $2.75.)

THIS volume tells the story of the long struggle between spoils and merit in the civil service of the United States. It traces the origin of the spoils system in the states, especially in New York and Pennsylvania, shows how the system was transferred to the national arena under Jackson, and how the practice became fixed and its machinery perfected especially in the period when a new type of party leader dominated Congress: Blaine, Conkling, Cameron, and Platt. By 1870 the system reigned "unchecked and unashamed". The author describes with accuracy and in detail the great change brought about largely through the zeal and influence of the National Civil Service League, founded by George William Curtis, Carl Schurz, Charles J. Bonaparte, William Dudley Foulke, Lucius B. Swift, and a few others. Brief biographical sketches of some of these early leaders are given.

The author then characterizes the decades of reform from 1865 to 1913, showing the gradual extension of the merit system. He shows why the spoils system held on so tenaciously; considers the objections to and the defense of the competitive principle; tells of the fight against the spoilsmen in Congress; of the problems of retirement, classification and removals; and finally presents the internal problems of the League in its organization, finances, and program. The League was strictly nonpartisan though some of its members were more or less bound to party loyalty. In 1884 young Theodore Roosevelt, "loyal party man", as he always claimed to be, supported Blaine for President, whom the majority of the League looked upon as an enemy of the reform. Successive presidents from Cleveland on did something to advance the reform, though none of them came up to the full measure demanded by the reformers. Cleveland was severely arraigned for the general change, if not the "clean sweep", in the service which he permitted in response to party pressure. Harrison suspended the executive order of Cleveland extending the classified system, and he gave over the Post Office Department to J. S. Clarkson, a crass and unabashed spoilsman.

A valuable chapter on Propaganda Methods shows the need of arousing public opinion and the means employed by the League to attain this end: its annual *Bulletins* and *Proceedings,* miscellaneous publications and journals, *Good Government,* the *Civil Service Record* and the *Civil Service Reformer.* Lucius B. Swift's *Civil Service Chronicle* published in Indianapolis in the 'eighties, seems not to have come within the author's notice. It was ably edited, dealing many a trenchant blow for the cause. In later years, as the author shows, the propaganda efforts of the League have been shifted. "With the gradual extension of the merit system attention has turned from the fight against the spoilsmen to problems of efficiency in administration brought to the front by the extension of the governmental functions and the growth in numbers of government employees." This is the present problem before the League whose forces have been energized anew to meet the need.

Professor Stewart has chosen a subject of first-rate importance in American history. The student and the lay reader, too, will find interest and satisfaction in his study, while the surviving veterans of the League and its present active members will greet the volume with especial pleasure and approval. The volume is provided with a full bibliography and a useful index.

James A. Woodburn.

The Tariff on Iron and Steel. By Abraham Berglund and Philip G. Wright. (Washington: Brookings Institution. 1929. Pp. xviii, 238. $3.00.)

In the miasma of propaganda which surrounds nearly all tariff discussion it is exceedingly difficult for the general public to ascertain the actual effects of specific duties. In this little volume an effort has been made to present in non-technical and straightforward style, the results of an intensive study of the iron and steel schedules in American tariff history. The book is opportune, for it helps to explain why the steel schedules, which for a number of years had been on the decline, were revised upward in 1922, and it should also prove of some value in interpreting the rates of the forthcoming tariff. In preparing the study the authors have asked themselves certain questions: To what extent has the prosperity of the iron and steel industry been due to the tariff? What interests backed the upward revision in 1922 and what specific ends did the tariff makers have in mind in proposing increased duties? Are the duties on iron and steel products a burden on industry or upon the final consumers, and if so, to what extent?

In formulating answers the authors have found it necessary to present introductory chapters covering such topics as the chemical composition of iron and steel, the process of manufacture, the competitive position of the United States in the iron and steel trade, and finally, a bird's-eye view of the history of the industry in this country. All this is done clearly, albeit briefly, and when added to the later specific chapters on the tariff, the result is an excellently organized study of an important industry, a study of particular value both to the college student and the general public. The authors conclude that while the tariff was formerly helpful in placing the iron and steel industry on a solid foundation, the great development would have come anyway, and that whatever significance the tariff may have had in the past has largely disappeared at present for the great mass of tonnage products. Of the specialized steels, some of which are "war babies", the duties on molybdenum, ferromolybdenum, and ferrovanadium "appear", in the opinion of the authors, "to serve no useful purpose whatever"; those on tungsten and manganese ores to be "indefensible from any national standpoint", while those on high grade carbon steels, certain alloy steels, and ferrochromium, ferromanganese, ferrotungsten and electric-furnace ferrosilicon "stand on fairly debatable ground".

The data from which the authors worked appears reliable and their attitude peculiarly unbiased. Obviously rabid tariff partisans will interpret their data differently, but to the reviewer their conclusions seem sound. The book is an effort to make the results of scholarship easily available upon a subject highly technical and riddled with politics, and the project is apparently based on the optimistic theory that the general public is interested in the truth regarding the tariff. While the student of American history may well feel pessimistic regarding this, the book itself deserves wide reading and should certainly not be neglected by the present tariff-makers.

Harold U. Faulkner.

SHORTER NOTICES

Biblical Anthropology, Compared with and Illustrated by the Folklore of Europe and the Customs of Primitive Peoples. By H. J. D. Astley, M.A., Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.A.I. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. 262, $4.50.) This is a book which at once delights and disappoints the scholar. It delights because of its insight, its sanity, its author's mastery of the subject, and his independence of judgment; it disappoints because it is not an orderly treatise on Biblical anthropology, but in part a collection of papers which the author has published in various journals at different times, including a review of Sir H. G. Frazer's *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament.* Although a certain unity runs through the papers, this fact gives the reader a sense of scrappiness. The subjects treated are: "Naturism or Pre-Animism", "Animism in the Folk-Stories of the Old Testament", "Animism in Magic and Ritual", "Totemism in the Old Testament", "Primitive Art and Magic", "Survivals of Primitive Cults in the Old Testament", "Women's Fashions in Jerusalem, *c.* 735 B.C.", "Mythology in the Psalms", "Rest Days: a Study on the Origin of the Sabbath", "Biblical Folk-Lore: a Review" (of Frazer's book), "The Swastika", "Religious Dances", "Tree and Pillar Worship", "Primitive Sacramentalism", "Christianity and the Primitive Races", "Survivals in the New Testament", and "The Teaching Office in the Church".

The author differs from many scholars in holding that all races, at a certain stage of development, have passed through a totemistic stage. Primitive art was, he holds, employed for magical purposes, whether found in the caves of paleolithic man in France, in ancient Crete, in the tombs of Egyptian kings, or among the Australians. The ornaments worn by the women of Jerusalem as described in Isa. 3: 16–24 were, in his opinion, in part instruments of magic. Religious dances, he believes, originated in honor of the dead who, because they had departed this life, were on the way to become much more powerful than they had been when living. He clearly demonstrates that sacramentalism is a survival of primitive magical ideas and that, while it may be helpfully employed in symbolism, it is, if literally interpreted, the transfer to an age of advanced civilization of the thought of primitive times, or, in other words, superstition. These are but a few of the well grounded positions taken by the author. His interpretation of the swastika as "the wheel of life" does not commend itself to the reviewer. It is far too abstract for some of the peoples among whom it has been found. A more probable suggestion would seem to be that it was originally a crude representation of the sun-disc.

The ordinary reader will be surprised to discover how primitive ideas form much of the warp and woof of both the Old and New Testaments, and, indeed, of the thought of all of us.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

A Short History of the Jews, down to the Roman Period. By E. E. Kellett. (New York, Dial Press, 1929, pp. viii, 280, $3.50.) There has long been need of a good, modern history of the Hebrew people; hence one approaches the present volume with high expectation. The Introduction and Conclusion are excellent, as are the several maps; none better could be asked for. Together they constitute a third of the whole work and are worthy of a better volume. The Introduction presents clearly and succinctly the various problems that face the historian who would write a scientific history of the Hebrews, and it shows how that history ought to be and can be written. But the history itself is a disappointment. For one thing, it begins with Moses and leaves out of account the hundreds of years preceding Moses, concerning which we now have a good deal of accurate information. More serious still is the fact that the history after Moses is treated in much too sketchy a fashion to be of real interest to any but the ordinary reader, and to him much of it will be unintelligible. So much has to be read between the lines that only the scholar can read the book intelligently and he will find in it nothing that he does not already know and much with which he will not agree; but he will find a beautifully written history and a style that anyone might envy. Indeed one wonders if our author is not more concerned at times with the euphony of his words than with the intelligibility or accuracy of his statements. By the author's own confession only "a short summary" is given of the post-exilic period "till lately too much neglected" (p. vii), and now once more neglected. It was in this period that the Hebrews came to be called Jews, so the volume might better have been called *A Short History of the Hebrews.* Another serious criticism of the book is that it could just as well have been written many years ago because it takes no account of recent research in the field, as is evident from the bibliography on p. 263 ff., where not one recent work is listed. Such an important work as Lewy's *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda* is apparently unknown, as are the many writings of such authorities as Albright, Böhl, Jirku, Alt, Ungnad, Landersdorfer, Contenau, and Honor. There are also too many misprints or misstatements.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

Cultural Change. By F. Stuart Chapin, Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota. [The Century Social Science Series.] (New York and London, The Century Company, 1928, pp. xix, 448, $3.50.) More than fifteen years ago Professor Chapin published an introductory manual on social origins, entitled *An Introduction to the Study of Social Evolution*. This was followed some years later by a sequel, *An Historical Introduction to Social Economy*, which presented much material on the social history of Europe as the background for studying the rise of social work. The present work utilizes a small portion of the first book and most of the second. But a great deal of new material is added, especially on the theory of cultural evolution and the technique of studying it.

The first three parts of the book constitute a very serviceable sketch of the social history of the Western world, with special stress on the revolution in industry and communication in modern times. The fourth and last part deals with the measurement of cultural change and the possible laws of cultural development. It makes an effort to show the manner in which statistical measurement may be applied to the determination and evaluation of the evolution of civilization. This section is stimulating and provocative of discussion, whatever the reader thinks of the validity of Professor Chapin's statistical ingenuity.

As a whole, the book is one of the very best on the borderline between history and sociology. Any historian, desiring to discover what possible contributions sociology might make to a more exact and scientific study of historical development, would find this book one of the most characteristic and useful which he could consult.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

The Art of Straight Thinking. By Edwin Leavitt Clarke, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology in Oberlin College. (New York, D. Appleton, 1929, pp. xiv, 470, $3.00.) This is a very useful and eminently practical book which covers the fields embraced in elementary logic, Spencer's *Study of Sociology* and Lundberg's *Social Research*. It is designed as an introduction to the methodology of research and interpretation in the social sciences. It first considers the nature, causes, cures, and preventives of prejudice. Then it deals with the principles of deductive logic. Next it turns to a review of the essentials of the inductive and observational method, especially as it may be employed in the social sciences. This is followed by a discussion of the methods of proof and demonstration. Then there comes a detailed consideration of the sources of information, oral and written, upon which the social scientist may rely. This includes an investigation of the credibility of witnesses and of circumstantial evidence. There is an excellent chapter dealing with propaganda, especially that of a dishonest sort. The book concludes with an elaborate appendix containing questions and problems and an ample bibliography.

As a whole, the book may be pronounced an excellent introduction to methods of investigation in the social sciences, including, of course, history. The volume would be especially serviceable to the students of the so-called "new history", which is particularly interested in intellectual and sociological materials. The book is clear and elementary in its treatment. There is ample use made of concrete illustration of issues and problems. It is not only suitable for underclassmen in college but many sections could be used with profit in the secondary schools in connection with introductory courses in social science. The work is not an original or distinguished intellectual achievement, but it is a sane, thoughtful, and exceedingly helpful compilation.

Harry Elmer Barnes.

Les Premières Civilisations. Par Gustave Fougères, Georges Contenau, René Grousset, Pierre Jouquet, et Jean Lesquier. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Général, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, Deuxième édition, 1929, pp. vii, 477, 50 fr.) This book is published as a second edition of a book concerning which I wrote a brief notice in the pages of this *Review.* The only changes in comparison with the first edition are the following: in the bibliographical notices at the foot of the pages additional references have been introduced, many to the *Cambridge Ancient History.* At the end, pages 433 to 437, there is a *Supplément Bibliographique* with references chapter by chapter to books published since the appearance of the first edition. But there is no change in the main text of the book anywhere. This means, of course, that discoveries in the Ancient Orient find no mention whatever. The early history of the Tigris and the Euphrates is left quite untouched. There is no mention of king Mes-anni-padda, or of his successor A-anni-padda, nor of Mes-kalam-shar, and of course none of the marvelous gold ornaments discovered by C. L. Woolley in 1923–1924, yet the bibliographies supply references which describe their results. And that which is true of Ur on the Euphrates is true also of Egypt.

Robert W. Rogers.

A Survey of Ancient History to the Death of Constantine. By M. L. W. Laistner, Professor of Ancient History in Cornell University. (New York, D. C. Heath and Company, 1929, pp. xiv, 613, $3.80.) Professor Laistner has done college teachers of ancient history a service in writing this textbook. By incorporating in a single volume the newer material hitherto available only in periodicals and expensive special treatises with the traditional narrative based on ancient literary documents, he has achieved his purpose of giving an interpretation adequate for university students and not uninteresting to the general reading public.

The first twelve chapters deal with the history of mankind from prehistoric times to the Persian Wars. Noteworthy is the way in which the author has interwoven the early developments of the Oriental world with those of Hellas. Aegean civilization is dealt with in its proper place with Egypt, Babylonia, and Anatolia prior to 1100 B.C. instead of being prefixed to Hellenic history. The Hittites and the Sumerians are wisely given a more detailed treatment than is usual. The Phoenicians and the Hebrew prophets are dismissed in a summary fashion. Chapters thirteen to nineteen cover the period from the Persian Wars to the Hellenistic age. The Peloponnesian War and the petty conflicts of the fourth century are related in much detail. The cultural development of Greece is described in its main phases. The sections on Greek philosophy are especially good. One questions, however, the wisdom of deferring the study of the political institutions of the Periclean Age until the events up to Chaeroneia are told. The last fourteen chapters have to do with the rise and decline of Roman power. The political narrative is exceptionally clear and interesting. Chapter twenty-nine on the economic development of the empire from 100 B.C. to 211 A.D. contains much fresh, though not original material. The last two chapters, covering the cultural aspects of the same period and the decline in the fourth century are not so satisfactory. The causes of the decline are disposed of in a single paragraph.

Taken as a whole the book is stimulating, especially to one already somewhat familiar with the field. To a novice, the mass of detail and the allusive method of treatment are rather embarrassing. There is an excellent bibliography.

HERBERT WING, JR.

Les Cultes de Patras avec une Prosopographie Patréenne. By Jules Herbillon, Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archeology, no. 5.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1929, pp. xvi, 185.) This is the latest of the many studies of the cults of Greek states or cities which have appeared in the last few decades. The author cites as a model the important work of Charles Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (Paris, 1922). Patras was not a great center of literary or artistic production, and information concerning its cults is derived almost entirely from Pausanias, though coins, and, in very slight measure, inscriptions are of some assistance.

After an introductory chapter on the history of the place, Dr. Herbillon treats of the divinities and cults of Patras, following in general the itinerary of Pausanias. This enables him to follow at the same time the chronological sequence of the introduction of the cults, for the eldest deities and those of the acropolis are followed by the deities of the agora (the official Olympians), and these in turn by the deities of the port, whose cults were introduced after Patras became an important seaport. Some of Dr. Herbillon's theories and conclusions may perhaps be based on insufficient evidence, for Pausanias is, after all, a late writer, and cults and legends as he tells them may not always reflect the facts of earlier ages. So it may be doubted whether the cult of Ge-Demeter and Cora was really developed from that of a goddess of the prophetic spring or whether Artemis Triclaria, apparently the great pre-Achaean deity of the place, was originally so intimately connected with the river Meilichos as Dr. Herbillon thinks, but the legends told by Pausanias are seriously considered, and their bearing on the cults of the deities is carefully explained. The date of the introduction of each cult is discussed and, so far as seems possible, determined. The book is an excellent example of the detailed studies of the cults of individual cities, which may serve as the foundation of a comprehensive knowledge of Greek religion. After the index is a page of errata, where most of the too numerous misprints are corrected.

H. N. F.

Latin Thought during the Middle Ages. By Cesare Foligno. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929, pp. viii, 120, $1.75.) The book contains a thought provoking review of the knowledge possessed by our medieval forefathers of the literature of Rome. There is here no manual for college freshmen, but the matured ideas of a scholar who has spent his years in the study of Continental literature.

Professor Foligno states his thesis simply: " Civilization and progress may be measured during the Middle Ages by the importance and extent of the Latin survival. . . ." The development of this theme carries us from the decline of Roman civilization in the West to the eve of the Italian Renaissance. The scene shifts rapidly. The earlier chapters deal with the centuries during which lovers of Latin literature strove to preserve what they might of the culture that was passing, for the needs of the new peoples who were wrecking the Empire. Then we are taken to the land of the Scots and Anglo-Saxons, to the new peoples among whom were many who, like Bede, were readers of the classics. With Alcuin, who was an Anglo-Saxon and a great scholar, the scene shifts to the court of Charlemagne and the Carlovingian Renaissance. Learning had now been systematized for a new and low standard of culture; copies had been made of most of the Latin writers, and all was ready for a long step forward. The benefits of the Carlovingian Renaissance remained dormant for a time, but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there came a great revival under the Schoolmen. With the attempt of scholars to reconcile ancient philosophy and Christian ideas, the story comes to an end.

The book is well written and stimulating. Its faults, if faults they be, are of omission. I find the final chapter on " The Schoolmen and After " inadequate, the treatment of the work of the school of Chartres too brief, and the final paragraphs rather inconclusive. But any sketch will meet with similar criticisms.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign: a Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium. By Stephen Runciman, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, the University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. vi, 275, $5.00.) Mr. Runciman's book, as he acknowledges in the Prologue (p. 6), is a tribute to the inspiration exercised by the late J. B. Bury, in which he endeavors to put in his true light one of the most capable of the long series of able rulers who occupied the Byzantine throne. The only detailed account of Romanus Lecapenus which we have previously had is embedded in A. Rambaud's brilliant book on Constantine Porphyrogennetus, where Romanus inevitably forms the foil for the flaccid figure of his son-in-law. Rambaud's book is out of date and he himself is clearly somewhat prejudiced against Romanus. Mr. Runciman endeavors to correct this impression. The book is written with a full knowledge of the sources published before and after Rambaud's day and the author has laid under heavy contribution the Arabic sources which A. A. Vasiliev collected and also the work of the modern Bulgarian historians, especially that of Zlatarsky. Like most apologies, the book tends to go a little too far in putting a favorable construction on the actions of its hero and in polishing up the smudgy aspects of his character, but to have the material collected and sifted for this period is a valuable contribution to Byzantine studies. The reviewer feels that the chief weakness of the work is an attempt to cover rather hastily a number of widely scattered fields; in particular chapter VI., Byzantium and the Nation of the Steppes, and also the discussion of Byzantine Italy in chapter IX., are rather too brief to make the situation clear to the reader. Several chronological points are discussed in detail; in particular the rôle of the eunuchs in Byzantine life and government (pp. 29–31) is well brought out. One misses a reference on page 20 to Bréhier's article on the rural populations (*Byzantion*, vol. I. 177 ff.). The transcriptions, particularly the Armenian names, are open to serious criticism; either the western or the eastern pronunciation should be followed consistently so that if we write *Gagic*, we should have *Sparapet* in place of *Sbarabied*. *Kitabu'l* as an abbreviation for *Kitabu'l-'Uyun* is wholly impermissible. The importance of the Armenian migration into the Byzantine Empire, which had begun at this period, is not sufficiently emphasized in the writer's discussion of Armenian and Caucasian affairs, though Djavakishvili's *History of the Georgian People* was probably not accessible to the writer. The whole rôle of Georgian culture in Tao is quite neglected, as the writer does not know N. Marr's *Life of St. Gregory of Khandzt'a* (St. Petersburg, 1911).

None of the strictures passed above, however, seriously injure the distinct usefulness of the book as a new member of the series of monographs on Byzantine history. The typographical execution is excellent and there is a very good map of the eastern frontier, though recent authors do not seem to realize the great advantages of the contour system when dealing with a mountainous area.

Robert P. Blake.

Moskau das Dritte Rom. Von Hildegard Schaeder. [Osteuropäische Studien hrsg. vom Osteuropäischen Seminar der Hamburgischen Universität.] (Hamburg, de Gruyter, 1929, pp. 140, 12 M.) The history of Russian political ideas has been almost completely ignored in the Western world and even in Russian no general work covering the whole period is available. And yet the political ideas of ancient Russia have many original features and present some interesting modifications both of the Byzantine and Western European theories. This is why Dr. Schaeder's book must be welcomed as one of the first attempts to treat the subject in a language other than Russian. Her choice of the special problem for study is a fortunate one, as the idea of Moscow being the "third Rome", that is, the center of the Orthodox world was the basic conception of the Russian political thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Though Dr. Schaeder's monograph is based chiefly on the previous research of Russian scholars, there is also an independent analysis of sources and some new and interesting suggestions are offered. This is particularly true of the first and the best part of the book, dealing with the origins and the development of the idea of the Third Rome. The second part of the book, dealing with the "End of the Third Rome", is unfortunately very incomplete. There is an interesting section on Križanić, containing nearly thirty pages, but this topic has but a slight connection with the author's main subject. On the contrary, the struggle between Patriarch Nikon and the Old Ritualists which undoubtedly occupies a central place in the problem of the "end of the Third Rome", is treated in two pages, not very clearly written at that. New ideas introduced by the reforms of Peter the Great are mentioned but in a few lines, and from the beginning of the eighteenth century the author passes directly to a short exposition of the ideas of Konstantin Leontiev, who wrote in the second half of the nineteenth century, but she quotes Leontiev from secondary authorities and her treatment of this remarkable Russian writer is inadequate and rather superficial.

G. VERNADSKY.

The Private Correspondence of Nicolo Machiavelli. By Orestes Ferrara, LL.D., Professor of Public Law in the University of Havana, Cuba. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. xii, 130, $2.25.) At the side of the life that Machiavelli actually lived stands, completely overshadowing it, the life which a hostile posterity has attributed to him. In the opinion of Dr. Ferrara there is no better way of recovering the real life than by a search for the facts scattered through the body of Machiavelli's private correspondence. Only a small portion of this has come down to us, accessible in two critical editions by Alvisi (1883) and Papini (1915) respectively, and embracing not only such of the great Florentine's letters as have survived but also, in even greater number, those of his correspondents. Although the present book swiftly and discriminately analyzes this epistolary exchange, it would have been advisable, in view of the author's main purpose, to make the title read: Machiavelli as Mirrored in his Private Correspondence. For that is precisely what results, a still certainly incomplete but none the less breathing and vivaçious sketch of Machiavelli as father, husband, friend, official, and boon companion. Seen thus, he is indeed a characteristic product of his age in that, facing life boldly, he is outspoken, irreverent, energetic, and licentious. At the same time, however, we become aware that behind this mask by which he "dates", there dwelt a solid burgher, who scrupulously met his obligations to family and friends and who, after the loss of his secretaryship, was prepared to accept any modest post which carried a living wage and enabled him to indulge his middle-class passion for work. The sinister picture of his personal traits and private activities manufactured after his death may be now cheerfully consigned to oblivion. Not the least service rendered by Dr. Ferrara in this competent piece of reconstruction is his explanation of how the caricature came to replace the reality. It is a product of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, which in their desire to discredit the ethical ideal of the Renaissance were not content to attack such a characteristically pagan work as *The Prince* but invented a diabolical author as hateful as his product.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History, III. By Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, D-ès-L., and Georges Lefebvre; tr. by M. I. E. Robertson, M.A., D-ès-L., and R. F. Treharne, M.A., Ph.D. (Manchester, University Press, 1929, pp. ix, 306–517.) The French edition of Stubbs's third volume with the supplementary "Studies and Notes" appeared two years ago, long delayed "by the war and the preoccupations of M. Petit-Dutaillis". This English translation of the supplementary material is uniform in appearance with that appended to volumes I. and II. (1908, 1913) and continues the pagination. But it is less closely related to Stubbs, whose third volume is largely fifteenth century parliamentary, ecclesiastical, and social history; while much of what we have here are the contributions of Tout and his followers to thirteenth and fourteenth century administrative history. Also M. Petit-Dutaillis's share in this third installment is confined to a forty-page introduction on the relations of king and parliament. Unfortunately the third and fourth volumes of Tout's great work came too late, but full use has been made of his scattered writings which foreshadowed some of his important conclusions. The authors regret that Adams's *Council and Courts* also came too late; but here there is practically no use of anticipatory papers. And they use little of Holdsworth. In fact the Benches and other non-administrative features of government get so slight a treatment as to make it scarcely worth while. Some references to papers and shorter works which have appeared in the last three years are supplied by Professor Powicke (who writes a preface) and the translators.

The leading ideas are thoroughly anti-Stubbs: kings made parliament for their own purposes; there were no "liberty-loving" barons; barons of one century were as narrowly selfish as those of another; the "people" were wholly local and uninterested; the backbone of government lay in the professionalized administrative departments; no parliament in any modern sense until modern times. Much of this is now matter of course. Indeed the authors labor some points which have long been accepted by English-speaking scholars. They are quite in the present spirit in making almost no one admirable; the characterization of notable English kings is racy and uncomplimentary: the kings seem a bad lot and the barons too, making it puzzling how institutions—which are but ways in which people acted—were so much better than their source. However, this volume is not to be neglected: there are some new points of detail, useful bibliographical notes, the write-up of Tout's work is important though extremely uneven, and the comparison between English and French institutions penetrating. There is no space to take up the many debatable points, and there are a few plain errors. The discussion of *Confirmatio* (1297) is particularly faulty; and it is odd to hear so much about "the *curia regis*" and "the *commune concilium*" in a book which makes the welcome profession that "there is nothing more productive in history than the study of semantics". The translation is not as skillfully done as in the first two volumes, and there are too many typographical errors.

A. B. White.

Die Britse Ryk: sy Grondslag, Doel, Ontwikkeling, Vervorming en Toekoms. Deur Dr. M. Steyn Vorster. Deel I., *Die Grondslag van Engeland se Gesag oor Kolonies en Dominiums.* (Amsterdam, Swets and Zeitlinger, 1929, pp. xiv, 150.) This first volume of what promises to be an extensive castigation of British imperialism is devoted to an inquiry as to the source of that authority by which colonies are governed, or their destinies controlled, from England and through organs not of their choosing. Dr. Vorster is a South African of Dutch extraction, his language is the Boer *taal,* and his view of the imperial connection has, not unnaturally, been much embittered by the experience of his people. The interest of his book for the student of history lies rather in its expression of the nationalist temper at this time in South Africa, than in its value as a scholarly contribution to the analysis of imperialism. This is not because the author finds the Empire conceived in selfishness and nourished in iniquity, but because his presentation of the case suggests that imperialism is an English vice, or that the English form of it is peculiarly vicious; that oppression and tyranny have been informed, calculated, and consistent.

The work begins with four chapters on the legal basis of the sovereign control exercised over the colonies. Was it implicit in the common law? In the prerogative? In the supremacy attained by the English Parliament in the seventeenth century? Is it to be sought in international law? In tacit or explicit acceptance of their position by the colonies? No, declares the author, it is the will to power unabashed. In the chapter on the legal status of Parliament Dr. Vorster rejects justifications of the Empire on the score of common interests, or the military protection afforded by the mother country, and ends with a condemnation of imperial federation as impracticable. His method of substantiation is to quote the authorities who agree with him. The bibliography is brief for the burden it must sustain. One puts down the book with the conviction that imperialism needs to be studied, not scolded at.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

France: a Short History of its Politics, Literature, and Art from the Earliest Times to the Present. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1929, pp. viii, 418, $3.50.)

The Story of France from Julius Caesar to Napoleon III. By Paul Van Dyke, formerly Pyne Professor of History at Princeton University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928, pp. xvi, 539, $3.50.) The distinctive feature of these short one volume histories of France is their marked departure from the familiar lines of the conventional manuals of political history. Cultural history, especially art and literature, has in both of them a large measure of recognition and is handled with skill and appreciation. Economic history, except in a few places where it is closely bound up with political affairs, is relatively neglected.

The two books differ considerably in size and in allotment of space. Mr. Sedgwick's book contains about 115,000 words, that of Professor Van Dyke about 175,000. The early days, Roman Gaul, and the Middle Ages get relatively generous allotments in both books. Mr. Sedgwick gives them nearly a third of his space, while Professor Van Dyke by allowing them nearly half of his larger book makes his account about twice as long as that of Mr. Sedgwick. Both writers are much interested in the period from 1483 to 1789, giving to it considerably more than a third of their space. In both books there is a decidedly scant allotment to the significant years since 1789. Professor Van Dyke, despite the larger size of his book, gives them less attention than does Mr. Sedgwick.

In general both books deserve hearty commendation. They are concise, interesting, and in the main accurate. Both are addressed to the general reader, but Mr. Sedgwick appears to have had particularly in mind the needs of the American tourist traveling in France, and Professor Van Dyke those of the American college student.

The principal defect in Mr. Sedgwick's book is that much of what he writes about art and literature is not well integrated with the remainder of his book. It is also open to the criticism that in his anxiety to get in everybody worthy of mention he sometimes reduces these passages to little more than lists of artists and writers.

The most serious weakness of Professor Van Dyke's book is his treatment of the period since 1789. This portion is distinctly below the high level of the rest of the volume. It contains a good many blunders or misleading statements. According to the title page it should stop at 1852, but it goes on after a fashion down to the present day. It ignores entirely the remarkable artistic and intellectual achievements of France during the nineteenth century. The narrative about political affairs is slight and becomes progressively slighter to such a degree that the epilogue upon the Third Republic is little more than a defense of France against certain criticisms widely prevalent in the United States. It is to be hoped that Professor Van Dyke will at an early date revise and enlarge the final hundred pages of his book. In a new edition another hundred or more pages dealing with the period since 1789 might be added without making the book unduly large. Passages upon the art and literature of the nineteenth century should be included.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Esquisse d'une Histoire Économique et Sociale de la France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Guerre Mondiale. Par Henri Sée. (Paris, Alcan, 1929, pp. 560, 50 fr.) Probably no scholar was more competent to write a comprehensive survey of French economic history than Henri Sée, for he had already published at least twelve monographs and numerous articles upon the subject and had thought out a technique for the interpretation of economic history (*Matérialisme Historique et Interprétation Économique de l'Histoire,* Paris, 1927). The present work is a well-proportioned synthesis as well as a highly valuable guide to the literature of the subject. It is more than a conventional sketch, for it is charged wherever possible with precise data of the highest significance woven into a clear and thoughtful narrative. As the whole panorama of French life and labor passes before us, there appears no break in the continuity of the procession.

The influence of physiographic factors, *e.g.*, in agriculture, metallurgy, and communications, is recognized from beginning to end. The emergence of medieval society from a blending of Roman and barbarian elements is indicated in agrarian organization and social *mores*. Conditions of life and labor under feudalism are analyzed with especial attention to the origins of peasant land tenure from which the small holdings so characteristic of France spring. The progress of emancipation is closely followed, revealing how little of anything like medieval serfdom survived on the eve of the Revolution. Commerce, revived by the Crusades, sustained from the Hundred Years' War wounds which required generations to heal and which ever after handicapped economic development. In the sixteenth century the effect of an influx of specie and the rise of capitalism in quickening every phase of economic life are skillfully sketched. The treatment of guilds suggests the desirability of revising popular notions, *e.g.*, the idea that there was once harmony between masters and servants. While the Revolution and Empire arrested economic development, the period witnessed the realization of a landholding peasant "democracy".

In an economic sense, *i.e.*, with regard to agrarian, industrial, and commercial techniques, the Old Régime lasted until 1850. Since then France has experienced in full measure, though in the rear of England, America, and Germany, as M. Sée so frankly admits, the application of science and capital to production and distribution. Nor is she far behind in the adjustment of law and social organization to the recognized needs of labor. In one fundamental respect France is unique and perhaps happier than her neighbors: the equilibrium between rural and urban elements gives promise of stability and harmony in a world at peace.

FRANK W. PITMAN.

The Age of Louis XIV. By Laurence Bradford Packard, Anson D. Morse Professor of History, Amherst College. [The Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York, Henry Holt, 1929, pp. xii, 144, 85 cents.) This is a recent addition to the Berkshire Studies in European History. According to the editors, the studies are designed to furnish adequate reading, "neither too specialized and technical nor too elementary", for a course in general European history. While they are based on the latest scholarly contributions to the subjects treated, they do not pretend to be "contributions to historical literature in the scholarly sense". Having read five or six of these studies, the reviewer is of the opinion that the editors and authors have thus far been successful in carrying out their aims.

Professor Packard, in the volume under review, has made a brave attempt to interpret a significant and difficult subject in 136 pages. The study contains three chapters. In the first, which is the best, the author, after discussing the meaning of the age of Louis XIV., traces the emergence of the kingship from feudalism, the rise of absolutism and its consummation in the age of Louis XIV. In chapter II. he describes the international aspects of the reign of Louis XIV. In doing this, he traces the beginnings of modern diplomacy, the rise of diplomatic practice, and gives a good description of diplomacy in the age of Louis XIV. An excellent account of the beginnings of modern militarism follows. Then Professor Packard tries to compress in a few pages the important subject: International relations in the age of Louis XIV. He does this by giving an inadequate summary by countries of the international situation in the seventeenth century, followed by a few causes and results of the wars of Louis XIV. Several pages on the Influence of France beyond Europe, and a Summary of treaties made in the reign of Louis XIV. are tacked on. In chapter III. the author attempts, under the general title, "The Intellectual Achievements of the Great Age", to sum up French literature in the period of Louis XIV., English literature, French architecture, English architecture, Painting in France, Spain, and the Netherlands, Sculpture, Industrial Art, Music, and Science in its various branches. All in forty small pages! Professor Packard has made a courageous effort, but it is too much for any man to do with entire success.

FRANKLIN C. PALM.

A History of Mechanical Inventions. By Abbott Payson Usher, Associate Professor of Economics, Harvard University. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1929, pp. 401, $5.00.) When students in History A of a generation ago reached the assignment on the Industrial Revolution, they were likely to be confronted with an elaborate description of the "great" inventions of the eighteenth century, accompanied by diagrams of strings and wires which purported to be the water frame or the power loom. The whole discussion left a cloudy impression that somehow the eighteenth century in England must have been an especially brainy period, when inventors suddenly abounded and, by their cerebrations, brought the marvellous new machines of the age into being.

In one sense, Professor Usher's book represents the culmination of the attitude which, in spite of the stressing of all other factors, postured the Industrial Revolution as an outgrowth of mechanical inventions. There are, however, great differences between this work and earlier texts. No scholar stresses more constantly than Usher the evolutionary character of the inventive processes; France, Germany, and Italy are surveyed as well as England; and the illustrations actually help to clarify the text for the lay reader. Among the most interesting chapters are those which deal with timepieces, clocks, and watches, the achievements of Leonardo da Vinci, printing, the textile machines, and the production and application of power. Considerable attention is paid to the claims of priority of inventions as between individuals and between nations; and not the least keen of the author's observations is a note of "discrepancies between the accounts of the work of Edison and Swan which it is not easy to reconcile".

Unfortunately, Mr. Usher seems to have much in common with those dealers in antiques, all too common among textbook writers, who value knowledge the more highly for its age. Philo and Hero, windmills, swapes, and water clocks are objectively important; but there is a lack of balance in the devotion of four chapters to such subjects before 1500 A.D., and of only three chapters or parts of chapters to the period since 1800. Moreover there is no excuse at all for the psychological involutions of chapters one and two, which are enough to fend off almost any reader from an otherwise fascinating book.

Frederick C. Dietz.

The Coal Industry of the Eighteenth Century. By Thomas Southcliffe Ashton, M.A., Reader in Currency and Public Finance in the University of Manchester, and Joseph Sykes, M.A., M.Com., Head of Department of Economics, University College, Exeter. (Manchester, University Press, 1929, pp. x, 268, 14 s.) This notable monograph presents us with the first adequately documented account of the history of this important industry in the eighteenth century. One can only wonder why so obvious a need was so long neglected. Some explanation is undoubtedly furnished by the bibliography; for, in addition to the resources of the London libraries, the researches of the authors carried them to a large number of provincial libraries, and to the muniment rooms of many great landowners and mining companies. Few subjects of such importance have presented such physical difficulties to research. The authors have worked through this material with great care and with keen regard to the varied technical and social problems presented. The study includes the Scotch coal fields, but research in Scotland was not carried beyond the printed material.

The text falls into three primary divisions: technical progress in the methods of mining, the relations between the masters and the men, and the methods of marketing. In the past not a little material has been available on the monopolistic methods in vogue in the coal trade of Newcastle, but we have known little of conditions prior to 1771. It now appears that the policy of limiting output was at least intermittently in operation throughout the eighteenth century. The material in the other sections is practically all new. The methods of mining are described for each of the great coal fields, with carefully documented chronology for all the changes in methods. The pumping and winding machinery is also described with accuracy, though without much detail. The part played by these devices in the history of heavy duty machinery is not overlooked, but the authors deliberately refrained from developing this section of the text on a larger scale. Although the treatment is compact, no significant historical problem is neglected or slighted.

The condition of the wage earners occupies the major portion of the text. We find chapters on the condition of the Scotch collier serf, the miner's bond in the north of England, the collective contract, corn riots, wages, and conditions of work. These chapters not only disclose much patient research in difficult material but also unusual powers of sympathy with the mentality of the workers. The grounds for the acceptance of incredibly harsh conditions are so completely explained that one almost forgets the stark horror of a situation in which there was scarce any regard for human rights or human welfare. Although some features of the old conditions survived into the nineteenth century and were exposed in the great Parliamentary inquiries, many phases of the economic condition of the coal workers had changed, so that the eighteenth century problems were significantly distinct. The present study is not only independently significant, but indispensable to an adequate appreciation of conditions in the early nineteenth century.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

Lettres d'Axel de Fersen à son Père pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance d'Amérique. Publiées avec une introduction et des notes par le Comte F. U. Wrangel. (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1929, pp. viii, 130, 20 fr.) Axel Fersen, son of a Swedish noble, went to Paris in 1774, attracted the attention of Marie Antoinette, and promptly fell in love with her. Of this malady he was never cured, although at first he did what he could to avoid its consequences. He left Paris, and, finding his days filled with intolerable boredom, he joined the American expedition under Rochambeau. He sailed for America in 1780 and returned to France in 1783. The letters written during this period are not of great importance. They add little to our knowledge of Fersen, and throw no light on the interesting subject of his relations with the Queen. The young man was bound to write to his father periodically, and like a good son he did write. He gives his father much precise information about his movements, about the people he met, and in general about the army. He says that he has not the confidence of Rochambeau, and that life in the new world is hard and devoid of interest. Although in one letter he has something to say about slavery in Virginia, Fersen evidently had none of the lively curiosity about American life and institutions which many French visitors displayed. The chief value of the letters is for military history. They give a somewhat full account of the military operations leading up to the surrender of Cornwallis. Annexed to the letter of October 23, 1781, is a *Journal des Opérations* of seven pages—a concise account, filled with dates and statistics, of the Yorktown campaign.

The editor has prefaced the letters with an Introduction of forty-two pages telling the reader what he needs to know about Fersen and his reasons for going to America—all very adequately, even if a bit excessively, done. Is it not, however, a bit naïve to conclude that Fersen must have loved his father very dearly because he closes a letter with " les assurances du respect, de l'attachement, de la reconnaissance, de l'amour et de tous les sentiments qu'un fils peut avoir pour le meilleur des pères "? At this rate every well brought up eighteenth century son must have loved his father.

CARL BECKER.

Pushkin i Polskoe Vozstanie 1830–1831: Opyt Istoricheskago Kommentariia k Stikhotvoreniiam " Klevetnikam Rossii " i " Borodinskaia Godovshchina ". (Pushkin and the Polish Uprising of 1830–1831: An Essay of Historical Commentary upon the Poems " To the Calumniators of Russia " and " The Anniversary of Borodino ".) By V. A. Frantsev. (Prague, Politika Press, 1929, pp. iv, 144.) Professor Frantsev is a well-known authority on Slavonic literature and history. His new book on Pushkin is a valuable contribution to the study of the development of Russian political ideas. It is dedicated to the same subject as Lednicki's book which I reviewed for the October number of this *Review*. Both scholars arrive at nearly the same conclusion: both agree on the point that Pushkin's anti-Polish poems correspond to the general drift of his nationalistic ideas, although Frantsev considers that only two poems of the three analyzed by Lednicki are directly connected with the Polish problem. There is, however, a difference between Frantsev and Lednicki in the explanation of the origins of Pushkin's ideas. Frantsev analyzes not only what Pushkin thinks about the Polish question, but he also investigates the sources of his ideas and their correspondence with the opinions of his contemporaries. There was a tragic inconsistency in the Polish uprising of 1830–1831. While fighting for Poland's independence, the Polish leaders insisted on annexation of vast Russian territories to a new Poland, on the ground of "historical rights". There were many Russians who were quite ready to welcome a free Poland, but who, at the same time, could not consent to give up to Poland regions inhabited by Russians. These topics have been thoroughly investigated by Frantsev. Epecially valuable is the section dealing with the Russian historian Pogodin who had an important influence on Pushkin in the comprehension of the Polish problem. Pogodin has been, up to this time, underestimated both as a scholar and as a politician, and yet he was one of the outstanding figures in Russian society of the nineteenth century. The last two sections of Frantsev's book deal respectively with Czech comments on the Russo-Polish problem and with the Slavophile movement in Russia in Pushkin's time.

G. Vernadsky.

Comment la France a Payé à Waterloo. Par André Nicolle, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1929, pp. 240, 30 fr.) The title of this book might have been "The Dawes Plan of 1817" or "How Alexander I., Wellington, and Baring made it possible for France to Pay". There were reparations as well as indemnities, for by Art. 19 of the Treaty of May 30, 1814, defined and extended by the Treaty of Nov. 20, 1815, the France of Louis XVIII. was to pay claims against Napoleon I., obligations which the Empire had assumed but could not meet because of the disasters of 1814 and 1815. These claims were grotesquely excessive, and, added to the indemnity of 700,000,000, presented a financial problem seemingly insoluble. The skill and credit of the House of Baring, the good sense of Wellington, the generosity of Alexander I., together with the integrity of the Richelieu ministry and especially of the Minister of Finances, Count Corvetto, offered a solution of such interest that the story ranks with those of 1871 and 1919, or rather of 1925. M. Nicolle has told it with full knowledge, except that he does not seem to have consulted papers in the Public Record Office, but contented himself with what he found in Wellington's *Supplementary Despatches,* which, it should be remarked, are very full on this subject. The tone of his narrative is excellent, altogether free from the "Perfidious Albion" bias which mars Pierre Rain's *L'Europe et la Restauration des Bourbons.* He recognizes the great address with which Wellington, supported by the Czar Alexander, manipulated the greedy states and reduced their swollen claims. It was the prestige of his military triumphs, especially Waterloo, and the power of his position as commander-in-chief of the army of occupation that made success possible. The extent to which he pared down demands is indicated by the fact that Austria accepted twenty-five millions in place of 189. M. Nicolle sees no merit in the criticisms which the French bankers of the time, notably Périer, directed against the Baring contract, because in the first place they refused all financial aid until they saw that Baring, instead of being ruined, was realizing handsome profits. Moreover the credit of French bankers would have been unacceptable to suspicious powers like Prussia. Incidentally the author describes the rôle of Ouvrard, although he does not succeed in clearing away all the mists which hang about the acts of this extraordinary promoter. It is unfortunate that the printer has allowed many typographical errors to pass uncorrected.

La Conquête d'Alger 1830, d'après les Papiers inédits du Maréchal de Bourmont Commandant-en-chef de l'expédition. Par Gustave Gautherot, Professeur aux Facultés libres de Paris. (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 208, 20 fr.) The hundredth anniversary of the French conquest of Algiers has called forth many works on the establishment and occupation of the colony. M. Gautherot, who in 1926 published a life of General de Bourmont, the first commander of the African campaign, has recently added to this biography in his *La Conquête d'Alger.* Covering the days between the first preparations in April and September 4, which limit the activities of the general on this project, it fills not only the gap left in his own book, but as well that which is found between Gabriel Esquer's *La Prise d'Alger* and Camille Rousset's *La Conquête d'Algérie.* It lives up to the standards of Esquer's work, however, only in those places where M. Gautherot deals directly with De Bourmont. Perhaps because the general is the author's chief interest, and inasmuch as he has had access to the unpublished De Bourmont papers, there is a tendency to slight other men and their part in the conquest, as well as other sources and their part in the history. The chapters for example dealing with the preparation for invasion, the consequent diplomatic struggle with England, and the very interesting position of Turkey are lightly touched upon compared to those in which De Bourmont occupies the center of the stage. In these latter he covers excellently the military action, the early colonial administration and its primitive machinery, the negotiations with the beys of Tunis and Tripoli, and the formation of the zouaves. M. Gautherot came upon De Bourmont as a figure wronged by history and has taken this chance to champion his cause. Hence the presentation is not only favorable through its sources, but also through the purpose of its writer, the result being that the reader is likely to get too bright a picture of this phase of the campaign. No hint of the blundering years to come is given, though the seed to many of the errors was sown during the general's administration.

S. K.

Victorian Working Women: an Historical and Literary Study of Women in British Industries and Professions, 1832–1850. By Wanda Fraiken Neff. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. 288,

$3.50.) The author of this volume in the introduction states the two-fold purpose which guided her study of the working woman: "to build up a complete picture of the working women in England between 1832 and 1850", and to explain the fact that certain classes of working women frequently appear in the pages of poet and novelist while other groups are entirely ignored or used but seldom. In pursuit of these somewhat diverse aims, she considered the textile worker, the non-textile worker, the dressmaker, and the governess, adding to her studies of these types a lengthy account of "the idle woman". For this last inclusion her justification is hardly convincing, though the chapter itself is interesting and suggestive. The complete picture to which Mrs. Neff aspired is built up from the testimony brought forth by government investigations, from contemporary observations on the effects of the factory system, and from works of fiction. The elements in the gloomy portrait presented are those familiar to all students of such studies as Hutchins and Harrison's *History of Factory Legislation,* the works of the Hammonds, or to the readers of Mrs. Gaskell's *Mary Barton.* Questions of wages, hours, health, and morals, housing, home management and the care of the children of the factory operative, numbers and organization of the workers, and efforts for legislative reform are all touched upon in the rapid survey of the textile and non-textile factory worker. For these two chapters a large part of the material is drawn from parliamentary papers, with occasional citations from fiction. For her picture of the dressmaker and the governess Mrs. Neff is forced to rely in larger part upon fiction, while her woman of leisure is drawn almost entirely from that source. Though the author in her concluding chapter intimates some doubt as to the veracity of much of the literary material dealing with the working woman of the nineteenth century there is no expression of this feeling in the earlier pages, and her easy passage from official report to novelist's delineation, with no apparent distinction between the two sorts of material is sometimes perplexing to a reader who is by no means certain that they are to be given equal weight. Readable and worth while Mrs. Neff's volume certainly is, but the material brought together would have been vastly more valuable had it received the close-knit organization which is so marked a characteristic of Alice Clark's *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century,* with which this work invites comparison. Not only does the subject matter of each chapter need to be more carefully articulated but the book as a whole fails to carry the reader step by step to the conclusions of the last chapter. These conclusions, however sound, are not tied to the pages that precede them and neither they nor the questions set in the introductory chapter provide a guide through the maze of details which the author has painstakingly accumulated. They do, however, suggest rich fields for further work.

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

La Deuxième République et le Second Empire. Par René Arnaud. [The National History of France series.] (Paris, Hachette, 1929, pp. 345, 20 fr.) This book belongs to the series edited by M. Fr. Funck-Brentano and all-too-generously rewarded by the Institute of France; it is easily one of the best. It fulfills to perfection the avowed purpose of the collection: " L'Histoire de France recontée à tous ": it is purely narrative history for the general reader. But scholarly care is not sacrificed; there is no touch of vulgarity, or even of cheapness, in this popular work. Alertness is achieved through the constant use of brief sentences and the historical present. Irony is not lacking, but it is subdued, and never runs into levity or cynicism. Compared with Guedalla's pyrotechnics, this book is safety and sanity incarnate; by the side of Seignobos or Albert Thomas it has literary charm. The only inaccuracy we found in those 345 pages is that, twice (p. 115 and p. 205) the impression is created that the original of Daudet's *Nabab* was Morny. It would almost seem as though M. Arnaud had not read that novel, which after all is of no vital importance. Morny appears in it, not as the nabob himself, but under the thin disguise of Duc de Mora.

The book is purely and simply a narrative, not a study in French civilization. For that reason, it may seem a trifle old-fashioned to the " new historians ". It deals almost exclusively with politics, war, and diplomacy. The industrial revolution, which was the key to the whole period, the scientific spirit, realism in art and literature, which were the glory of the age, are barely alluded to. They fill less space than the heroic and useless operations around Sebastopol.

No historian can boast that he is only " telling things as they actually happened ": he has first of all to pick out what things are worth recording, and can never eliminate his own personality. M. Arnaud is not free from bias: but he is constantly moderate, courteous, and good-tempered. We have no " impartial history of the Second Empire from the Bonapartist point of view ": even Ollivier's enormous plea *pro domo* could not be called that. But anti-Bonapartism was long an article of faith, from the days of Victor Hugo and Taxile Delord. M. Arnaud is free from republican bigotry. He follows on the whole P. de la Gorce, whose mighty work is remarkable for its sane conservatism. M. Arnaud recognizes in Napoleon III. an " enlightened despot ", a Saint-Simonian socialist, " a man of 'forty-eight' " (p. 174), essentially generous and lovable. Perhaps history will go a few steps further. It may recognize that the sovereign who rebuilt Paris and gave France twenty years of brilliant *and solid* prosperity could not have been solely an inefficient dreamer. M. Arnaud is still inclined to consider the disasters of 1870 as the just and inevitable punishment of the manifold sins of the Imperial Régime. The sins we do not deny: but the lesson is not quite so obvious. A discussion of this point, however, would carry us far beyond the proper limits of a brief review.

ALBERT GUÉRARD.

Alexandre III. et la République Française; Souvenirs d'un Témoin, 1885–1888. Par Edmond Toutain, Ministre Plénipotentiaire. (Paris, Plon, 1929, pp. ii, 395, 25 fr.) This is a study of the old diplomacy, written in the spirit of the old diplomacy. The author was secretary to the French embassy at St. Petersburg during the years of which he writes. This gives the book a certain value which is perhaps, from the narrower point of view, increased rather than diminished by the diplomatic conventionality of M. Toutain's attitude, his unquestioning faith in the balance of power, his delight in the small subtleties of favor and good will which Alexander III. gradually deigned to bestow upon France as experience diminished his mistrust of the Third Republic.

Without doubt the author is right in ascribing great importance to the relations between France and Russia during the three years when he was an eyewitness of the diplomatic swordplay at the Russian court. Germany's hold on Russia had long been slipping, but Alexander III., conservative even for a czar, had the greatest fear of French "instability" (p. 11). He wished to be assured that if he sought a friend in France he would be anchoring Russian diplomacy to something solid. The advantages of stability certainly seemed at the time to lie with a Germany dominated by the inflexible and apparently immortal chancellor Bismarck. But so carefully and patiently did the French diplomats pursue their wooing of the Russian court that by the time of the exposition of 1889, celebrating the centenary of the Revolution, the Russian press was rebuking Hungarian politicians for their needless fears of French radicalism (pp. 369–374). Bismarck's bogy-man of French democracy no longer frightened the Russians and thus was removed the greatest real obstacle to the Dual Alliance. The work was well done, though some of us are not so sure as M. Toutain that it was worth doing and that France was wise in looking czarward for an ally.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

Die Türkei seit dem Weltkriege: Geschichtskalender, 1918–1928. Von Gotthard Jäschke and Erich Pritsch. (Berlin, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde, 1929, pp. 154, 6 M.) This little book was published in connection with the German periodical *Die Welt des Islams.* It endeavors to provide the basis for a comprehension of the history of Turkey during a very important decade. The sources used include a number of Turkish journals, periodicals, and books, which are accessible to very few westerners. In addition the bibliographical lists contain about 100 appropriate titles in western languages. The bulk of the calendar was prepared by Herr Jäschke. The outstanding events are presented briefly but adequately. The most important are set off by heavy type. A number have references to fuller accounts in the various sources. From time to time important parallel events in other countries are listed with the use of smaller type. An appendix gives the chief officers of the Turkish government and the Grand National Assembly during the period considered, together with the Turkish Song of Independence and the Sakaria March. These songs are displayed in the new Latinized Turkish with translations into German. Herr Pritsch provides a supplementary calendar which in some items amplifies the information given earlier and in other items presents additional information. Useful summaries can be found here of the history of the Armistice of Mudros, the High Command in Stambul, the Turkish negotiations with the Transcaucasian governments, the abolition of the capitulations, and the Turkish alphabet reform. The whole constitutes a compendious and reliable work of reference within the scope indicated.

A. H. Lybyer.

European Financial Control in the Ottoman Empire: a Study of the Establishment, Activities, and Significance of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt. By Donald C. Blaisdell, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. x, 243, $3.00.) The title and subtitle of this book are not quite in agreement, since the history of the "Ottoman Public Debt" includes only a portion of the entire story of Europe's attempt to dominate the finances of Turkey. The book does indeed give some attention to other European financial agencies, particularly the Imperial Ottoman Bank. The author presents no separate bibliographical list, but displays his authorities in footnotes. He explains in the preface how he visited Constantinople and was permitted to use the archives of the Public Debt. There as well as in Berlin, Geneva, Paris, and London he conferred with persons recently or formerly connected with the institution under discussion. Dr. Blaisdell apparently was not acquainted with Adib Roumani's *Essai historique et technique sur la dette publique ottomane* (Paris, 1927). Professor Edward M. Earle contributes an appreciative introduction.

The first four of the nine chapters of the book are mainly devoted to an explanation of the financial confusion in Turkey which led up to the establishment of the Administration of the Imperial Ottoman Debt. The fifth chapter discusses this establishment, setting forth its constitution by the Decree of Mouharrem in 1881, according to which a number of the substantial revenues of Turkey were given in charge to a commission, which while international in its membership, actually counted as a department of the Turkish government, with the duty of applying the ceded revenues to the payment of interest and the reduction of principal on Turkish indebtedness to foreign bondholders.

The next two chapters explain how the functions of the Council of the Debt were enlarged by the additional responsibility for kilometric guarantees of railways built in Turkey and for the collection and distribution of an increase in the tariff. Chapter VIII. discusses the fortunes of the Debt since 1914, when Turkey was first a belligerent, then a country under armistices, and finally a nation shorn of many territories but independent of European financial control. The Council of the Debt was then reduced to a mere distributing agency for the limited payments which might be made by the Ottoman government. The last chapter emphasizes the extent to which since the time of the institution of the Debt the governments of western Europe have directed their diplomacy to the support of the economic activities of their citizens, thus developing a financial imperialism which threatened seriously the independence of various small nations, including Turkey. Except for the events of war and peace the ostensibly " unofficial " Council of the Ottoman Public Debt was well on the way to becoming a powerful agency for the complete financial control of Turkey by foreign governments.

Dr. Blaisdell's study is clear, logical, and well documented. It summarizes adequately a hitherto obscure chapter in the history of the Near East.

A. H. LYBYER.

Bismarck und die Friedensunterhändler 1871. Bearbeitet von Hans Goldschmidt. (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter, 1929, pp. xvi, 286, 13.50 M.) The last of the volumes of *Die Grosse Politik* had not been published before other and less official publications of sources dealing with particular phases of Germany's pre-war diplomatic history began to appear. The volume under review belongs to this category. It consists of documents found in the Reichsarchiv on the economic phases of the peace negotiations in 1871 and of some hitherto unpublished materials from the Foreign Office. A few, three in all, have been published in *G. P.*, the remaining one hundred and fifty constitute a valuable addition to the eighteen documents on the subject given in the larger work. Both the number and the importance of the additional documents on this single phase of Franco-German relations from February to May, 1871, are an indication of how much the editors of the larger official collection had to omit.

About half the documents have to do with the negotiations for peace, the remainder deal with the controversy over trade and transport, the evacuation of the territory, and the amnesty question. They reveal what was already known through Busch and others, Bismarck's rather uncomplimentary opinion of his plenipotentiaries. Like the French representatives they belonged to the old school of diplomacy. Among the former he had profound respect for the well-informed (sachvertändiger) de Clercq, which may account for the fact that when Bismarck suddenly decided to put an end to the interminable debates, transfer the negotiations from Brussels to Frankfort, take charge himself and quickly bring about a definitive peace, de Clercq was not invited.

The statement made by Valfrey and others that Bismarck deliberately took advantage of the Communist insurrection to impose harsher terms seems untenable in the face of the documentary evidence. His willingness to listen to the overtures of the Communists despite the strenuous opposition of the Emperor, he justified on the claim that foreign policies are not concerned with the form of government in another state so long as the state in question does not carry on political propaganda abroad. (*Cf.* no. 39 and the interesting *marginalia.*) On the same principle he refused to extort special commercial advantages. To exercise pressure along these lines would, he argued, impinge upon the sovereignty of the state.

Besides much new material on moot questions, the documents, especially the instructions and the *marginalia,* furnish interesting glimpses of Bismarck in his prime in one of the most important crises of his career. Suggestive critical notes and scholarly introductions accompany the documents. Both are at times somewhat biased, as for example when the reader is invited to compare the policy and actions of Bismarck in 1871 with that of France in 1919. The editor was for years Archivar at Potsdam. He has been in close coöperation with the editors of *G.P.* and adheres closely to the technique of editing documents adopted in the larger work.

William E. Lingelbach.

Das Aussenpolitische Problem, Staat und Wirtschaft in der Deutschen Reichspolitik, 1880–1914. Von Dr. Rudolph Ibbeken. (Schleswig, Johs. Ibbeken, 1928, pp. 285, 6 M.) The object of these studies is an examination of the interplay of economic and political factors in four episodes of German foreign policy: the colonial expansion under Bismarck, the closing of the German financial market to Russia in 1887, the Caprivi customs treaties, and the building of the Bagdad Railway. In so far as the possibility is concerned of drawing any common conclusions from these different cases, the author is obliged to admit a negative result: "no generally applicable formula can be constructed for the relationship between economic policy and foreign policy." Such generalizations as he is able to make are of a deterministic character, as that such large-scale economic enterprises outside the national domain as the first and fourth here examined could not be pursued without serious diplomatic reactions resulting in the predominance of the political over the economic aspects. In Bismarck's attack on Russian finance he sees an economic action taken for political reasons and without proper calculation of the far-reaching political consequences of the financial rapprochement between Russia and France which ensued. Commercial treaties based on mutual concessions he regards as incapable of deeply affecting political relations; that with Austria consolidated an already intimate connection, but that with Russia served only to mitigate slightly a growing estrangement.

Inexorable as may have been the working out of these processes under the circumstances in which Germany's economic development took place, it can hardly be said that these four cases afford a sufficient basis for any generalizations applicable outside themselves. Nevertheless, the painstaking analysis of motives and effects is a contribution to the extensive spade work necessary to an understanding of the nature and mainifestations of the complex of forces making up modern economic imperialism.

The author encounters frequently the difficulty that besets all such investigations of tracing the actual relationships between business and government which underlie the phenomena he is studying.

A serious shortcoming of the work is the failure to make more use of foreign materials, inexcusable in a study of international relations. For the motives of foreign governments and the influences determining their actions, almost exclusive reliance is placed on the reports of German diplomatic representatives found in *Die Grosse Politik*. No non-German sources are employed, and scarcely half-a-dozen non-German titles appear in the list of eighty secondary works and memoirs. Of these the only two cited to any extent are Cyon's history of the Franco-Russian Alliance and Earle's study of the Bagdad Railway.

JOSEPH V. FULLER.

The Soviet Union and Peace: the Most Important of the Documents Issued by the Government of the U.S.S.R. concerning Peace and Disarmament from 1917 to 1929. (New York, International Publishers, 1929, pp. xiv, 280, $2.25.) This book makes available in English translation (from the Russian and French originals) a comprehensive collection of the documents referred to in its title. They number fifty-one, and extend from the Soviet Convention's "Decree of Peace", issued immediately after the Bolshevik party seized the government, on November 8, 1917, down to the speech of M. Litvinov, Acting Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on the signing of the protocol of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, February 9, 1929. They clearly and strikingly reveal the official Soviet attitude towards peace as illustrated by the November Revolution, the various peace conferences held since the World War, disarmament, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and neutrality and non-aggression.

On their face, they constitute an indubitably good, indeed an unparalleled, record in the advocacy of the peace method by Soviet Russia. M. Henri Barbusse, in an introduction of twenty pages, develops from their perusal an enthusiastic commendation of what he believes to be their sincere and epoch-making pronouncements against war and all its paraphernalia, and for peace and all its genuine agencies. His interpretation of the documents finds in them a persistent, straightforward, statesmanlike effort to promote peace within Russia and among all nations, with entire impartiality towards friend and foe alike.

In the face of such a record, the armed attacks of the Allies and the United States upon Russia in 1918, in support of a reactionary, Czarist régime; the hunger blockade of 1919; the refusal of President Wilson to answer Russia's various appeals for peace, and of President Harding to admit it to the Armaments and Far Eastern Conference at Washington in 1921–1922; the hesitating, vacillating policy of the Western Powers in regard to the recognition of its government, and their contemptuous rejection ever since the Genoa Conference in 1922 of its proposals for general disarmament, or even for armaments reduction; all these and more appear to have been worse than a crime and more stupid than a blunder. Russia, professedly the most feared of all military powers, has been wholly ignored or bitterly opposed in all of its appeals for peace and disarmament!

The explanation of this paradox is to be found, of course, in the existence of a vicious circle. Russia has armed itself because of its fear of renewed invasion and blockade by the "imperialistic, capitalistic, predatory powers of the West"; the West sees in Russia's great army conclusive proof that its conciliatory offers are mere smoke screens behind which the military support of communist revolutions in other countries is being prepared. The fear of Russia is against "capitalistic imperialists"; the fear of the West is against "revolutionary communists"; and "fears have no ears".

If international realities could be given a hearing (as, for example, that Russia's military expenditures—according to the London *Economist,* —are now two and one-half billion gold francs per annum, as against five billions expended by France and Great Britain, and four and one-half billions expended by the United States), it is possible that the will to peace revealed by these official documents would be validated by the Russian people and put to a practical test by the Western world. At all events, the documents afford exceedingly interesting food for thought which should be carefully digested by every one interested in international peace and justice.

William I. Hull.

The Practice and Procedure of International Conferences. By Frederick Sherwood Dunn, LL.B., Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. xiv, 229, $2.50.) Mr. Dunn has given us in this small book a lucid and informative account of the procedure of the "public international conference"—that comparatively recent and exceedingly useful agency for enabling multilateral treaties or conventions to be agreed upon with a minimum of labor and delay—though not always with a minimum amount of friction.

He finds that, like Topsy, these conferences have "just growed", without any assignable birth or conscious direction; but that most of them have been guided in their procedure by one or other of five factors, namely, rules prescribed in advance of their convocation; customary law; the purposive but variable and highly "atomistic" character of "the society of nations" by whom they are summoned; the manifold character and purpose of the conferences themselves; and such physical limitations as size, secret sessions, language, and "the equality of sovereign states".

Of these factors determinative of procedure, the purpose of each conference is deemed to be the most important, although usually neglected by the successive conferences themselves, and even ignored in the Report of the Committee of Experts appointed by the League of Nations for the progressive codification of international law. The fourfold classification of conferences by this committee is the subject of one of the author's chapters; and seven following chapters illustrate by historical examples the four kinds of conferences which emerge from the author's criticism of the League Committee's report. These examples date from the Congress of Westphalia in 1648 to the Conference of Barcelona in 1921, and are more than thirty in number.

While neither the size nor the purpose of this book, of course, permits its author to estimate the importance or even to enumerate the achievements of these conferences, it does throw a useful side-light upon the potential tasks which they may accomplish in the developing international organization of our time. That even their procedure is a subject of real importance is evident from the fact that another book dealing with it, by Mr. Norman L. Hill, of Stanford University, appeared coincidently with that of Mr. Dunn. Together they should be helpful, both in the conduct of international conferences in the future, and in assisting such governments as that of Great Britain and the United States to recognize the utility of submitting to some future committee on the codification of international law the question of how to proceed when the nations meet together in conference.

William I. Hull.

An Indian Commentary. By G. T. Garratt, late of the Indian Civil Service. (New York, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929, pp. 335. $2.75.) The world is flooded with books about India. But not all of them are at the same time both readable and reliable. Mr. Garratt has succeeded to a remarkable degree in both directions. The title is well chosen, for the book is truly a clear and well developed running commentary on the essential features of India's political problems.

Coming at a time when people are eagerly awaiting the recommendations of the Simon Commission, and are carefully scanning every move of the present Labor Government for signs favorable, or otherwise, to India's constitutional advance, this piquant, timely volume will be read with keen interest. The author has stated that his chief purpose in adding to the extensive literature on this subject was his desire to describe and explain the problem in a way to further mutual understanding between England and India. This difficult task seems to me to have been singularly well accomplished. The writer does not hesitate to "call a spade a spade". With forceful and well-chosen words he enumerates the shortcomings in the British attitude and administration: a superiority complex; no definite policy for developing self-government; and a succession of opportunities lost by delay. At the same time he calls the attention of Indians to their own difficulties: mutual distrust, social evils, and serious economic problems all of which are greatly aggravated by religious differences and communalism.

He traces the history of nationalism from the time of the Mutiny onward, declares that the National Congress is a spent force, makes definite suggestions for placing India on a democratic, self-governing basis, and closes on this hopeful note: " The chief grounds for optimism about the future of India is a belief that there are certain forces, innate in the people, which would be released if the country were relieved of its present political and racial troubles." MURRAY T. TITUS.

A Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History, 1600–1800, in the City of New York. By Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. xxvi, 357, $7.50.) This volume answers a long-felt want in presenting a comprehensive survey of the source material for early American history in the depositories in the City of New York.

It has two main divisions: (I.) Printed Sources, and (II.) Manuscript Collections. Part I. (pp. 1–89) comprises: Public Records and Other Documentary Collections; Newspapers and Periodicals; and Collected Works of Early American Statesmen. Part II. (pp. 93–328) lists the manuscript sources under two principal headings: (A) General and Political Material, and (B) Special Topics. Under the former are included: Material Classified by Colonies and States; the Inter-colonial Wars; Colonial Administration and Policy (to 1763); the Eve of the Revolution; the Continental Congress and the War for Independence; and Early Years of the Republic (1781–1800). The chief divisions in section B are: Sources for the History of American Law (to 1800); Land Systems and Land Enterprise; Sources for the History of American Business through 1800; Ecclesiastical Sources; Some Materials for the History of Culture. In addition, there are many subheadings. The index occupies the balance of the book (pp. 331–357).

This initial undertaking to list the source material for American history under subject headings is a praiseworthy piece of work which will prove a valuable aid to every student and librarian. It calls attention to many depositories of records not generally used. Thirty-four libraries and other institutions are listed and a summary of their collections given in the introduction. To digest and classify under subject headings all of this manuscript material is recognized by the authors as a huge task, and they state that it " would be a work of many years, even if closely confined to the field of American history ", and that, therefore, this guide " though frankly incomplete " will give " a better appreciation of what this city offers to historical scholars ".

One source for material was omitted—the patriotic societies. The Society of the Cincinnati of the State of New York has a considerable collection of documents before 1800, and the Sons of the Revolution have some documents and orderly books.

Since no attempt was made to list in detail the material in the public record offices in the city, due to the fact that there exists Professor Osgood's report published in 1901, Mr. Stokes's digest on the subject (in vol. VI. of the *Iconography*), and the work of Dr. Goebel now under way, which cover these depositories in detail, it would seem that for a similar reason pages 56–83 devoted to listing newspapers and periodicals might also have been omitted, and a general statement concerning this material made, calling attention to Mr. Brigham's *Bibliography of American Newspapers,* Mr. Beers's *Check List of American Periodicals,* and the *Union List of Serials,* from which it was necessary to copy all that is printed in the *Guide.*

It should be noted that in so far as the New York Public Library and the New York Historical Society are concerned, many more items could be credited to each in the printed sources than are listed, and it is not certain that either institution lacks the items because of the omission of a credit.

A. J. WALL.

Dighton Rock: a Study of the Written Rocks of New England. By Edmund Burke Delabarre, Professor of Psychology in Brown University. (New York, Walter Neale, 1928, pp. xvi, 369, $6.00.) [1] Dr. Delabarre has a summer residence not far from Dighton Rock; and this prompted his study of the inscription, and finally led to the publication of this book. Much of what is given here in book form appeared elsewhere in scattered articles but has been revised and new facts added. More than a third of the book is taken up with a discussion of previous opinions, and for the most part this is well done. A wealth of information is given in chapter IX. dealing with reproductions of the Dighton Rock inscription. Incidentally it may be said Dr. Delabarre has laid us under deep obligations by reproducing the early drawings and photographs. The exhaustive bibliographies at the end are a most welcome tool. Reproductions of the author's own photographs of Dighton Rock, by flash-light and otherwise, are valuable. But when we come to Dr. Delabarre's own interpretation of and conclusions regarding the Dighton Rock inscription and other inscribed rocks of New England, it is another story. It may be parenthetically remarked that previously Phoenician, etc., have been invoked, of course futilely, in the decipherment of the inscription. Nor is this any wonder when we consider how many purely fanciful statements are still made regarding the origin of American Indians. Dr. Delabarre's main theses are that the name of the Portuguese explorer Miguel Cortereal is on the rock; also two dates, A.D. 1511 and 1592; that the Portuguese coat of arms is also present, and above this there is a short Latin inscription; also the name Thacher, and a short English sentence. He admits that some of this may be conjectural. Truth compels me to state that a very few characters *may* have values assigned by Dr. Delabarre, but the rest can not be accepted. (Compare also Willoughby, *Amer. Anthrop.,* n. s., 31, p. 519.) Other inscribed rocks of New England are also dealt with. Here again we are thankful for the reproductions of old drawings, and his own photographs. As to Dr. Delabarre's opinion that the Mt. Hope inscription was written about 1834 by Mitchell in the Wampanoag language but using Cherokee characters, what proof have we that he knew Cherokee or visited Warren and Bristol, which is vital? I may add that I am unconvinced. Finally Dr. Delabarre claims all petroglyphs of New England as post-Columbian. This is out of joint with the times. A comparison with the petroglyphs of other parts of the country would have been of benefit to Dr. Delabarre. The extravagant claim that the post-Columbian (sic) inscriptions of Indians in New England are in imitation of whites, merits no serious refutation.

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[1] Review printed with permission of Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

TRUMAN MICHELSON.

The Story of Virginia's First Century. By Mary Newton Stanard. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1928, pp. x, 331, $5.00.) This volume gives an interesting narrative of events in Virginia during the seventeenth century. The accuracy of the story can not be questioned save where the old "relations" themselves are inaccurate, for it is based almost entirely upon them. In fact, paragraph after paragraph is little more than a succession of quotations pieced together. Unfortunately, since the "relations" are often highly controversial in character, this does not mean that the picture is always true.

The volume is badly proportioned; 150 pages being devoted to the first sixteen years of the colony, and 148 to the remaining seventy-eight years of the century. One could forgive this lack of balance, had the space on the early period been devoted to the economic, social, and political factors leading to the settlement at Jamestown, and those shaping its character after the settlement had been effected. Instead we have page after page of unessential details, treating in large part of the activities of Captain John Smith, while more vital events are hurried over in outline.

The volume leaves a sense of insufficiency. There are so many things which the reader would like to know that are left unexplained or passed by in silence—the fur trade and its relation to the development of the colony and to Indian alliances and wars; the imprint of Indian civilization upon the life and language of the settlers; the influence of waterways in shaping expansion; the struggle for the control of the purse; the close interrelationship between English political history and events in Virginia; the structure of colonial society; the great group of poor freeholders; the development of the Anglican church and the attempts to bring it into accord with the parent church in England.

There is a demand for a scholarly history of colonial Virginia, written in the light of the many recent investigations in this field. Unfortunately, *The Story of Virginia's First Century* does not meet this need.

T. J. WERTENBAKER.

The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts. Reprinted from the copy of the 1648 edition in the Henry E. Huntington Library, with an Introduction by Max Farrand. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. ix, 59, $5.00.) This is a word-for-word and line-for-line reprint of the first collection of Massachusetts laws. Beautifully executed by the Harvard University Press in a type similar to that of the original, the new edition is a tribute to the rarity of the item and to its great historical interest. Until the discovery of the unique copy here reproduced the actual publication of *The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes* was long questioned. Hitherto it has been available, outside the Huntington Library, only in a few photostat copies. Standing as it does "as the basis of all Massachusetts legislation, and influencing as well the legislation of other colonies, notably Connecticut and New Haven", this compilation was furthermore, the editor points out, "the first attempt at a comprehensive reduction into one form of a body of legislation of an English-speaking country".

In his introduction Mr. Farrand supplies an adequate discussion of the provenience of the *Book.* The prefatory Epistle, he observes, throws doubt on the formal adoption as law of the Body of Liberties of 1641. A minor omission, perhaps an intentional one, has been noted. He does not allude to the possible bearing of the Remonstrance of Dr. Robert Child and his associates upon the persistent efforts of the freemen which culminated in this code. On this point Professor Kittredge has expressed the definite opinion that the reference to arbitrary government in the records of the General Court of November, 1646, when a committee was appointed "for perfecting the lawes", "undoubtedly glances at the Remonstrance" (*Collections* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, XXI. 20).

V. W. C.

William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina. With an introduction and notes by William K. Boyd, Ph.D., Professor of History, Duke University. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh, North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929, pp. xxxii, 341.) The North Carolina Historical Commission has done so much admirable work in printing (and, what is almost as important, in indexing) the colonial records of that state that one regrets to observe that it seems to have exhausted its valuable material. Meticulously as it is edited, this handsome reprint of a familiar provincial classic was not needed. Not even the most meager library of Americana lacks one or the other (or all) of the editions of Byrd's *Dividing Line,* published successively by Edmund Ruffin (*The Farmer's Register,* Petersburg, 1841), Thomas H. Wynne (Richmond, 1866) and, best of all, John Spencer Bassett (New York, 1901). There was, indeed, an opportunity to contribute by way of commentary some fresh material from the south side of this "dividing line", something really informative about early North Carolina worthies, *e.g.,* Chief Justice Gale; but this edition unhappily fails on that test. It may not be fair to insist on such notes as (p. xv) "Nancy is a vulgarized form of Anne", or the almost equally jejune interpretation of Byrd's botany, but it is fair to note the lack of the sort of thing which, like Carolina rack punch (for which the editor considerately records the recipe), gets us " forward ". Surely there is cruel libel in the statement, in a French review of recent products of American university scholarship, that one American college is seeking to deduce a theory of prosody from a count of the commas in the Shakespeare quartos. We have not yet become Hellenistic: on the contrary, our scholarship has, like Paul Jones, " just begun to fight ".

What is here new in print is the text of Byrd's *Secret History*, the malicious diary which the witty author formulated from his field notes immediately after the survey of 1728, and later, with characteristic acumen, discarded in favor of the carefully elaborated and edited, but no less witty, revision which we have known. The MS. of this *Secret History* is in the possession of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, where it has been since Byrd's Westover library was sent to Philadelphia to be sold and dispersed during the Revolution. There it was seen by Lyman C. Draper in 1851. Following the publication (*Virginia Historical Register*, 1851, iv, 87) of Mr. Draper's letter to Charles Campbell, the Virginia historian, in which there was mention of the survival of this particular Byrd manuscript, there has been a procession of those interested in Virginia history to examine it; but none before has arisen from such study with a determination to print. The previously unanimous judgment has been that it did not seem worth " the candle ".

Corned beef and cabbage is a standard American dish, but Juvenal's translation of the Greek gnomic wisdom " Nothing too much " into something about *crambe repetita* persists as sound criticism.

F. H.

The Rise of the Whigs in Virginia, 1824–1840. By Henry H. Simms, Ph.D. (Richmond, William Byrd Press, 1929, pp. vi, 204, $2.25.) This monograph is a painstaking study from the sources of an interesting segment of party history. Exploiting the available newspaper and manuscript collections, the author presents an effective picture of the chaos that prevailed in that era of transition in party politics that followed the disappearance of the Federalist party. This study of Whig origins properly reaches back to the time when the first alignment of the Jackson and the anti-Jackson forces took form. The tidewater planters favored Crawford but were willing to witness Adams's election as a means of checking the ambitions of the " uncouth " westerner, Andrew Jackson. Once in office, however, Adams promptly offended many of the " Virginia school of politicians " by the latitudinarian implications of his policies, driving many into support of Jackson in 1828. Many of these newer recruits promptly lost faith in President Jackson as the latter seemed to neglect the Virginia leaders in his appointments and offended the anti-tariff and state rights group by his vigorous stand on nullification. Then in turn, following the definite birth of the Whig party, came further losses over Jackson's removal of the deposits, over his designation of

Van Buren as his successor, over Van Buren's independent treasury policy, and as a result of the "hurrah" campaign of 1840.

The distinctive feature of early Whig history in Virginia was the importance of the "Virginia school of politics". It still remains for some one to analyze and to trace to its origins this peculiar "Virginia abstractionism" of which John Floyd, Littleton W. Tazewell, and John Tyler were the chief apostles. Whatever its relations to the compelling facts of the economic decline in Virginia, this group maintained a consistent devotion to theory, without the practical strategy of the South Carolina nullifiers. Later, President Tyler was never able to understand that the allegiance to this system, even in his own state, had been pretty well undermined by the cold realities of politics.

The important contribution of the state rights forces to the origins of the "compromise" tariff of 1833 is quite definitely ignored in this study. So too the local importance of Calhoun's defection in 1837 from the Whig coalition is passed by. As in the case of the "conservative" revolt of 1837, the author does not always furnish background facts for movements that he discusses. It is to be regretted that the maps showing political alignments lose much of their significance in failing to present some indication of the relative strength of the local majorities in the contests analyzed.

Arthur C. Cole.

A History of Trenton, 1679–1929. Published under the auspices of the Trenton Historical Society. Two volumes. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1929, pp. xx, viii, 1116, $10.00.) As a general rule local histories in the United States are dull, poorly arranged, lacking in breadth of treatment and scholarly insight, and only too often tainted with commercialism. It is with a sense of relief, then, that one greets this two volume history of Trenton, for the work is comparatively free from all these faults, is accurate, broad in scope, and in general well written. The editorial committee, consisting of Edwin Robert Walker, Hamilton Schuyler, and John J. Clearly, have divided the history of the city into numerous topics, and assigned each to some competent investigator. Thus the volumes comprise a closely coördinated series of essays on: the Colonial Period, Trenton in the Revolution, the Two Battles of Trenton, Transportation, Industry, Commerce, the Legal and Medical Professions, Landmarks, Municipal and Corporate History, Religion, Education, Recreation, etc.

The system of joint authorship is open to serious objections, of course. A connected narrative, by one writer, in which each topic is brought in at the proper place, is a better method of presentation, and far more apt to hold the interest of the reader. But within the limitations of their plan, the editors and authors have done their work well. There is a minimum of duplication, valuable space has been saved by the omission of the usual uninteresting genealogical sketches, the essay topics have been well chosen. Especially interesting are the chapters on Transportation, by William J. Backes; the Two Battles of Trenton, by Frederick L. Ferris; and Trenton's Recreations, by John J. Cleary. One could wish for a more adequate discussion of Trenton's position as a Fall Line port, —the volume of commerce down the upper Delaware, and over the highways, and the transshipments to larger vessels below the falls; for a clearer explanation of the forces which changed the town into a manufacturing center; a fuller description of the life and habits of the people at various periods.

On the whole the book constitutes a valuable contribution, which will be welcomed by all who are interested in New Jersey history.

T. J. WERTENBAKER.

Die Amerikanischen Revolutionsideale in Ihrem Verhältnis zu den Europäischen: untersucht an Thomas Jefferson. Von Otto Vossler. (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1929, pp. 197, 8.50 M.) The range of Mr. Vossler's study is not quite as extensive as the title would indicate. It is simply a sound and on the whole satisfactory account of the influence of the American Revolution upon the development of the French Revolution. More specifically it is a study of the attitude of Thomas Jefferson towards the French Revolution. The first two chapters are introductory. They deal with the covenants that brought about the formulation of the American creed of democracy. Quite properly Mr. Vossler insists upon the conservative trend of the Revolution. At the beginning at least there was no indication that "the Revolutionary fathers" intended to innovate; their actual aim was to restore and to preserve rights of which they had been deprived. This may not be new for American readers, but it can not be too often repeated in Europe. When he comes to Jefferson, Mr. Vossler emphasizes the "legal mindedness" of the author of the Declaration, and how Jefferson gradually leaned towards social reform. The account of Jefferson's stay in France is somewhat sketchy. His scepticism on the possibility of the French following in the steps of the American is well indicated, but the author might have taken into consideration several documents already published and some others which he could have found in the Jefferson Papers of the Library of Congress to which he had access. To the work of Bernard Faÿ and to what I have written on the subject Mr. Vossler adds very little. The author, however, has attempted to define not altogether unsuccessfully the curious combination of idealism, pacificism, and imperialism which characterizes Jefferson's foreign policies, a point too little studied and generally misunderstood. The last and fifth chapter is given to a summary of the old quarrel with the Federalists, to a definition of America's ideal of democracy and to a restatement of the contribution of America to the propagation of democratic ideas throughout the world. Altogether it is a good and thorough synthesis of results already known, more than an original contribution. The larger problem remains to be studied. Great as may have been the influence of the American Revolution on the French Revolution, it was not limited to France and particularly to the period studied by Mr. Vossler. It may be traced in several other countries of the old world and manifested itself almost as strongly in 1830 and 1848 as in 1789.

GILBERT CHINARD.

Michigan Historical Collections. Volume XL., *Documents relating to Detroit and Vicinity, 1805–1813.* (Lansing, Michigan Historical Commission, 1929, pp. 754.) Approximately one-half of the volume relates to the civic activities of General William Hull who on May 5, 1805, set out for Detroit where, for seven years, he was to serve as the first governor of the Territory of Michigan. The task of setting up a new government on the frontier was not an enviable one. From the first, also, he found his duties as Superintendent of Indian Affairs "arduous and difficult". Throughout the year 1807 much time was consumed in making a treaty at Detroit whereby title was secured from the Chippewa, Ottawa, and a number of other tribes for some five million acres of land chiefly within the bounds of the present state of Michigan (pp. 215–220).

Disregarding the penchant of the governor for broadcloth, brass buttons, triumphal arches, and other military trappings, his career in peaceful days would be thought successful. But tried by the standards of war, the documents give evidence in abundance of timidity, indecision, incompetence, and a neglect of duty which have always been associated with his name in one of the most humiliating defeats in our history.

As early as the summer of 1805, there was a feeling of uneasiness at Detroit because of messages from the Indian tribes on the Mississippi to the Chippewa and the Shawnee declaring that "the People of the United States are their natural enemies, . . . that they ought to make it a common cause and immediately make war". These efforts failed. But within two years, Governor Hull was instituting plans for neutralizing the efforts of British leaders. At the same time, he was prophesying that the tribes of the Northwest, in the event of war, would unite against the Americans. Thereafter, until the governor received the order "to take possession of Malden and extend your conquests as circumstances may justify" (p. 397), he was apprehensive of Indian attacks at times bordering on the hysterical. His letters and those of his officers such as colonels Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur demonstrate that with him as commander capitulation was inevitable.

The introduction (pp. 25–51) by William L. Jenks, a member of the Michigan Historical Commission, giving the essential facts in the life of General Hull is well done. Hull's "Defence" constitutes nearly one-third of the volume (pp. 557–741). It is to be regretted that no effort was made to evaluate the statements made in this appeal and to prove just how far the findings against him should stand.

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

Daniel Webster. By Allan L. Benson. (New York, Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1929, pp. viii, 402, $5.00.) The reader of this book is carried along with entertaining anecdotes and picturesque detail through the career of Daniel Webster, from his boyhood in the rural society of New Hampshire at the close of the Revolution; to his education in Exeter, in the house of the Reverend Samuel Wood, and in Dartmouth; to his early experiences as a school teacher and then as a young lawyer in Boston and Portsmouth; through his public life as a representative in Congress, as ranking lawyer practicing before the Supreme Court, a senator, a candidate for President, a Secretary of State. The author's express purpose is, "by blending the incomplete pictures of Webster's friends, to present a complete portrait, not merely of Webster the statesman, but of Webster the man, with all his delightful drolleries, and not without some attention to his weaknesses". Throughout the book, therefore, the stress is upon the private affairs and the personality of this great American, in his relationships with others, at the expense of those public events which afforded him the opportunity to achieve greatness. In consequence, the reader is often faced with assertions by the author rather than with evidence. The impression steadily grows as one proceeds with the narrative that it is more of special pleading, at which Webster himself was so expert, than of objective portrayal.

It is further declared by the author that the historians of Webster's day never gave him his due and that later writers have followed the errors of their predecessors. But, in his endeavor to correct those errors, the author himself has reiterated many inaccuracies with regard to those who opposed Webster. After reading the pages (178–179) upon Webster's suit for criminal libel against Theodore Lyman, jr., one can hardly believe that the author has examined the case for the defense. He would have qualified his assertions to a degree, had he considered the evidence to be found in J. H. Benton's *A Notable Libel Case* and S. E. Morison's *Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis*. For another example, of greater importance, the treatment (183–188) which has been accorded the opponent of Webster in the famous debate of 1830 is reprehensible in its disregard of T. D. Jervey's *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times*. And similar criticism may be aimed at the author's handling of Andrew Jackson's attitude toward the Bank of the United States (211, 226–230), Martin Van Buren's policies following the panic of 1837 (253), James K. Polk's program with regard to the controversy with Mexico over debts and boundaries as well as American greed for land (308). These, and other instances for which there is no space here, indicate very strongly that this biographer of Daniel Webster has not given adequate study to the history of his time.

A. B. Darling.

Daniel Webster as an Economist. By Robert Lincoln Carey, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. 220, $3.50.) The publishers think highly of this volume; they admit as much in the descriptive notice on the paper jacket. And the author has given evidence of great industriousness; he has examined all of Webster's published works: letters, speeches, diplomatic and legal papers, in search of comments on economic subjects. These he has collected, classified, and summarized, so that the reader finds, all neatly arranged, the great statesman's economic philosophy in general, and in particular his views on such specific subjects as production, labor, money, banking, public finance, and the tariff.

Webster was not "an economic theorist of great significance". In fact, one gets the impression that Mr. Carey felt a touch of disappointment at his failure to find anything of true importance in this long search. Webster's views regarding labor the author finds "impressive more for their interest than for their profundity and scientific value". As for money and public finance, Webster made some "notable contributions to economic science". But even here the author might have intimated that Webster's contributions were neither original nor influential. With reference to international trade and related problems Webster's thought was not of a "startlingly original character".

Perhaps the general reader will be more interested in Mr. Carey's analysis of Webster's philosophy of the tariff. Throughout his life Webster was always at heart a free trader, but as a practical man he "made no pretence of going all the way with his theories". And even Webster himself confessed to a feeling of embarrassment when he was compelled by practical considerations to become the protagonist of protection.

One can not help wondering why, in what is intended to be a complete study of Webster's economics, the author did not include a section on the purely practical side. Further light, for example, on Webster's personal indebtedness to the Bank of the United States would not be entirely out of place here; nor would additional information on the exact nature of those arrangements between Webster and the group of Massachusetts business men who helped support him in the Senate. Matters of this sort had a place in Webster's life, and they doubtless influenced his economic philosophy.

Ralph Volney Harlow.

Polk, the Diary of a President, 1845–1849, covering the Mexican War, the Acquisition of Oregon, and the Conquest of California and the Southwest. Edited by Allan Nevins. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1929, pp. xxv, 412, $5.00.) The original four-volume edition of the Polk diary, brought out by Dr. Milo M. Quaife in 1910, was limited to five hundred copies and has long been difficult of access to students except in libraries. Mr. Nevins's abridgment, accordingly, like his abridgment of the John Quincy Adams memoirs, will be a real boon to those who do not need to consult the full text. The present volume includes all of the entries in the diary that are of primary importance for the history of Polk's administration, and a good many others that throw light on Polk's character and motives or chronicle the typical routine of his official life. The footnotes, of which there are a liberal number, not only explain allusions in the text whose significance might not at once be caught by the reader, but also serve to give the story somewhat more of a connected character.

The importance of the diary as an historical document is, of course, too well known to require comment. What will interest most the users of the abridgment is the appraisal of Polk which Mr. Nevins offers in his twelve page introduction. " For decades after he left the Presidency ", Mr. Nevins writes, " Polk was misunderstood and belittled by those who accepted the Whig and anti-slavery interpretation of the Mexican War." Von Holst's " Polk the Mendacious " is, perhaps, the most striking of these hostile verdicts. Mr. Nevins sees Polk in a different light. " Polk's career ", he declares, " was from first to last that of an honest, conscientious, and limited man, who was incapable perhaps of the highest moral elevation, but was certainly also incapable of deceit and double-dealing." " Much of his undeserved reputation for duplicity sprang from his taciturnity, which permitted men to deceive themselves." He was " unswervingly true to principle ", and his opinions of his contemporaries, if at times " rather severe ", appear in the main to have been just.

Mr. Nevins further thinks that Polk " managed the Mexican War with signal address and without failure or scandal ", notwithstanding that his " bitter distrust " of Taylor and Scott, his attempt to give the chief command to Benton, the explosive contact between Scott and Trist, and other incidents " make a strange narrative ". He does not comment in his introduction upon Polk's famous insistence, in his war message, that war existed " by the act of Mexico herself ", but a footnote to the diary entry of Saturday, May 9, 1846, summarizes without disclaimer the state of public opinion upon which Polk relied. One gathers that the " Whig and anti-slavery interpretation " seems to Mr. Nevins to have been without any substantial foundation.

William MacDonald.

Benjamin H. Hill: Secession and Reconstruction. By Haywood J. Pearce, Jr., Ph.D., Professor of History, Brenau College. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. x, 330, $3.00.) This is an essay on a large theme, the career of one who has a distinctive place in that group of unusual men active in Georgia politics during the middle decades of the past century. Alexander H. Stephens and Howell Cobb, Robert Toombs and Joseph E. Brown, Herschel V. Johnson and Benjamin H. Hill—save Virginia in the period of the Revolution, no Southern state produced such an interesting and able group of contemporaries. What did they have in common, and what contrasts may be drawn between them? On these matters Mr. Pearce is not definite; indeed they receive his attention only incidentally, his purpose being to give the details rather than to interpret the significance of Ben Hill's political career. And Hill's career reveals an interesting character. In politics he was opposed to the secession of Georgia, but bowed to the will of the majority. During the war that followed he was, unlike Stephens and Brown, a faithful and consistent supporter of Jefferson Davis. In the days of Reconstruction he denounced the radical policy of Congress, but when that policy was embodied in statutes, he advised acquiescence. Realizing that the day of plantation economy was gone, he gave thought and effort to the establishment of a new economic order. Naturally he was accused of inconsistency and even of disloyalty to his state and section—but the perspective of years marks him as a champion of minority causes who accepted the decision of majorities as a realist, even something of a prophet.

What was his background? What were the social, sectional, and economic factors in Georgia life which influenced the decision for secession? Did these and other factors contribute to the apparent inconsistencies of Joseph E. Brown, the reversions of Alexander H. Stephens, and the imponderables which Hill faced? Were Brown and Stephens abnormal men and Hill alone in a state of " normalcy "? Such questions the author does not answer. Indeed, the date of Hill's birth and the county of his nativity are not given; nor is the reader informed if he was planter or non-slaveholder, and the story closes with Hill's election to the United States Senate in January, 1877, five years before his death.

The story of Georgia and the Confederacy has yet to be written.

William K. Boyd.

The Day of the Cattleman. By Ernest Staples Osgood. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1929, pp. x, 283, $3.50.) This volume is evidence of continuing interest in one of America's picturesque frontiers. In 1874 appeared Joseph G. McCoy's book on the western and southwestern cattle trade. Thirty years later came Jerome C. Smiley's colorful *Prose and Poetry of the Livestock Industry of the United States.* Granville Stuart and John Clay have contributed personal experiences. Philip Ashton Rollins in 1922 and more recently E. D. Branch have pictured real and synthetic cowboys and their interpreters.

Restricted mainly to Wyoming and Montana the book is really an account of the range cattle industry of the Northwest, from the days of ox-teaming of the 'fifties to haymaking on the ranges in 1913. The establishment of the cattlemen's frontier is followed by another chapter, " The Texas Invasion "; chapter III. is devoted to " The Indian Barrier " and the other chapters present in turn " The Cattle Boom ", " Organization ", " The Cattleman and the Public Domain ", and " Disaster and Transition ".

Indian relations, the reviewer believes, are overstated (especially 141–147); the financial aspects of the " great and lucrative enterprise " need more illustrative matter. The style is one of distant detachment rather than one of sympathetic appreciation. Fifteen illustrations and maps are distinct assets to the text. The bibliography is full and detailed and the index is ample. Manuscripts, federal and state documents, and a long list of contemporary writings have been combed. There are few misprints. "Strayhorn" (265) should be Strahorn; the Colorado Stock Growers's Association was organized in 1867 rather than in 1872 (119); Swan Brothers failed in 1887 but the Swan Land and Cattle Company did not go into the hands of a receiver (220).

Dr. Osgood's strongest contributions are on the agrarian aspects, the federal relations, and the economic influences growing out of this range industry. Based on facts carefully gathered, but sometimes presented in disarray, the book carries its conclusions with soundness and with impact. In the history of the frontier it will stand as a tribute to the affirmative, constructive influences of the cattlemen on the ranges of the trans-Mississippi Northwest.

LOUIS PELZER.

Carl Schurz: ein Deutscher Kämpfer. Von Dr. Otto Dannehl. (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter, 1929, pp. vi, 404, 8.50 M.) No other character in American history was so often called traitor by his contemporaries as Carl Schurz. Whenever the lines of a campaign were drawn he would usually be found in the camp of those who four years before had been his enemies. But charges of disloyalty bothered him little. He was true, he said, to his ideals and all minor loyalties must fall before the greatest.

Without emphasizing the American significance of the period, Dr. Dannehl has written an admirable account of Schurz's career in Germany. It was then that he formulated those ideals to which he clung so tenaciously through fifty years of American politics. More than a hundred pages are devoted to a critical account of the development and principles of German liberalism before 1848. With this as a background, Schurz's education in liberalism in the student organization "Franconia" of Bonn University and his apprenticeship as a politician and soldier in the uprisings of 1848–1849 are drawn with vividness and impartiality. Extensive use is made of university and state archives, current newspapers and pamphlets, and recent monographs and dissertations. Without question, the student of European history will find in this book a most complete and realistic account of German mid-century politics and the footnotes constitute a convenient guide to the literature.

But the American will be struck by the similarity between the German revolutionists of 1848 and the American liberals of the post-Civil War era. The same impracticality, the same pettiness, the same lack of cooperation, and want of a spirit of compromise are apparent. It remains for some one to show how the insurgents of the Middle West are the intellectual descendants of Forty-eighters who found refuge in the German communities of America. If that connection is established a knowledge of German political theories will be as essential to an understanding of recent politics as acquaintance with sixteenth century English Puritanism is to an understanding of New England influence in American life before 1860.

The volume is a notable addition to Schurz literature and covers a period which biographers are accustomed to treat by summarizing the statesman's *Reminiscences*. Americans who have struggled with foreign languages will note with sympathy fifty-two misspellings and misprints that occur in quotations from and references to English works.

Marcus L. Hansen.

The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge. (New York, Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1929, pp. 246, $3.00.) The year 1929 will probably pass into history as the time when more records were broken than in any preceding twelve months. We had the coldest summer day, the fastest Atlantic crossing, the quickest journey around the world, the most tumultous débâcle on the stock market, etc., etc., etc. From this point of view it is not astonishing that we also had an ex-presidential autobiography in record speed. These memoirs are not a self-revelation, or the portrayal of the public men of the day, or the description of the period, which we might have had later. They are hardly more than a series of sketches of the road to the highest success from modest beginnings at The Notch, Plymouth, Vermont. Mr. Coolidge seems to emphasize the financial modesty of these beginnings and the thrift early inculcated by his father's precept and example. The recipe for success he finds in industry, readiness to seize the occasion, willingness to see the good rather than the ill in his associates, devotion to the public welfare, a resolute conservatism, setting his face as adamant against a "spirit of radicalism" which "unless checked was likely to prove destructive". Nothing of the visionary, few illusions, common sense, firm but good-natured. He apparently likes to note that in his early campaigns, local and state, he polled more votes than other men on the tickets. The only comment touched with caustic humor is the analysis in the chapter on "Some of the Duties of the President" of what he calls the "political mind" which leads the Congress to have "hours of timidity" when it "becomes subservient to the importunities of organized minorities" and passes, presumably, McNary-Haugen bills, so that the "President comes more and more to stand as the champion of the rights of the whole country". The final chapter explains "Why I did not Choose to Run".

Shrieks and Crashes, being Memories of a Canada's Corps 1917. By Wilfred Brenton Kerr, M.A. (Oxon), Ph.D. (Toronto), Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Assistant Professor of History, University of Buffalo. (Toronto, Hunter Rose, 1929, pp. 217, $3.00.) Here is an honest effort by an educated observer to record in detail his mental and physical experiences of war. It is a plain unvarnished tale, despite its somewhat lurid title. The latter, indeed, is merely an attempt to verbalize the sound made by shells as they approach and explode. Although the author admits a patriotic purpose in describing the work of the Canadian Corps, this in no way gives bias to his narrative. Apparently his own letters and diary form the basis of his story, giving it the character of a first-hand, contemporary source. Any reader looking for sensationalism or thrill will be disappointed. But to anyone with war experience of his own this account will be vivid. The somewhat monotonous, undramatic march of the story is itself an accurate reflection of army life. The author is careful to avoid generalizations so that the reader never loses sight of the fact that he is seeing things from the point of view of a Canadian artillery telephonist who tells only what he saw and heard himself. He makes it clear that much of soldiering, even at the front, resembles a very badly managed camping trip, punctuated with occasional, short periods of terror. With all its plodding accuracy, however, much of the soldier's psychology is lacking in this book, as indeed it is from most soldierly reminiscences. The intense, heavy boredom of long periods, the mixture of fear and depression and sense of personal loss which comes with casualties, the few peculiarly close comradeships, these can not be put into brief literary form, and to describe them in detail is more self-revealing than most men are willing to be. Yet they are some of the most profound realities of war, and their omission necessarily leaves any record incomplete.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America, 1808–1830. By J. Fred Rippy, Professor of History in Duke University. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1928.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. xii, 322, $2.75.) This treatise is not altogether concerned with an isolated tendency or a dead issue. Neither is it limited to a survey of the period specified in the title. As is indicated in the concluding chapter, after 1856 the British government seems to have gradually relaxed its opposition to the growing influence of the United States in Latin America.

Material for this volume was mainly gathered while Dr. Rippy was in England as a Guggenheim Fellow. It does not profess to be an exhaustive treatment of the significant theme but simply a consideration of its important phases. Though the author has consulted the literature in print dealing with one or another phase of the international relations of England and of the United States, yet in large part his work is based upon a diligent study of inedited manuscripts that repose in the archives of our Department of State and in the Public Record Office. The usefulness of this treatise to scholars is much enhanced by frequent quotations from these official sources. Although like other numbers in the Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, this has no distinct bibliography, it is amply furnished with informing footnotes. It would probably have been more enlightening in respect to certain issues if the author had had time to gather excerpts from contemporary American and European newspapers that illustrated the trend of public sentiment. Still this volume of related diplomatic studies brings into high relief the animosity and jealousy that frequently marked the policies of England and the United States toward Latin America. Among the important topics upon which Dr. Rippy casts a glow of light from a new angle are economic and political issues, the protracted negotiations concerning the destinies of the Spanish territories bordering on the United States, the fate of Cuba and Texas, English and American rivalry in South America, and the international significance of the Panama Congress. As he rightly points out, Anglo-American rivalry reached a climax during the age of Adams and Canning. Perhaps its most striking manifestation was the contest for diplomatic supremacy that was waged between Joel R. Poinsett and Henry G. Ward in the distracted republic of Mexico.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

The Mexican Agrarian Revolution. By Frank Tannenbaum. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. xvi, 192, $2.50.) Mr. Tannenbaum has essayed a difficult task and performed it well. He has traced the nature and course of the Mexican agrarian revolution which began in 1910, combining in his study an analysis, often presented in statistical form, of a vast quantity of official records and observations made during several years of travel through the rural districts of Mexico. He shows by tables the extent, nature and distribution of foreign land holdings in Mexico, drawn from the records of the county tax collectors of the district; despite all the controversy that has raged over the legislation affecting these holdings no detailed statistical record of them has hitherto been easily accessible.

The opening chapters of the volume contain an analysis of the Mexican agricultural situation of 1910. This is made up of a study of the numbers of the rural population, their geographical distribution, and the various forms of communities in which they lived. Two main forms of rural organization particularly claim Mr. Tannenbaum's attention, the hacienda and the free village. Of the internal economy of these he gives an accurate picture, making allowances for variety. A sharp distinction is made between the life of the peon in these two organizations, and the character of the internal economy of each is clearly presented. The feudal and ineffective organization of the hacienda appears only less striking than the cultural poverty and backwardness of the free villages. A novel element in the analysis is Mr. Tannenbaum's conclusion that real wages of agricultural labor fell during the Diaz régime. There follows a study of the course of the revolution and of the stages through which it has passed. The account is of particular interest as showing how the desire for a change in land ownership, at first felt obscurely, gradually became clearer, and was increasingly important in the struggle between revolutionary leaders.

An account of the various measures taken to give effect to the revolutionary program, and of their outcome, occupies the second half. The measurement of results is largely derived from statistical records. Government owned land has substantially increased. But the transfer of land to villages and individuals has progressed but slowly. Population has tended to shift from the haciendas to free villages. One omission in the summary of results must be noted; nowhere, unless it escaped me, is there given a record of agricultural production—which has tended to decline.

This summary can not do justice to the variety of important matters upon which the volume casts light, nor to the interesting quality of this account of endeavor and outcome.

HERBERT FEIS.

HISTORICAL NEWS

On November 1, 1929, the offices of the American Historical Association and of the *Review* were removed from 1140 Woodward Building to 40 B Street, S.W., near the Library of Congress. A few days earlier the offices of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, whose hospitality the Association had enjoyed, had been removed to 909 Tower Building, on the corner of 14th and K streets.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Commission on Direction of the Investigation of History and Other Social Studies in the Schools, sponsored by the American Historical Association, at a meeting on November 7–8, in New York City, discussed and approved the proposed testing program under the direction of Truman L. Kelley. The proposed plan had previously been considered by the Advisory Committee on Tests, the members of which are: Frank W. Ballou, Isaiah Bowman, Howard C. Hill, Ernest Horn, Ben Wood, A. C. Krey, chairman.

The other advisory committees thus far appointed are: *Objectives*: Charles A. Beard, Boyd H. Bode, Guy Stanton Ford, Charles E. Merriam, Harold Rugg, A. C. Krey; *Public Relations*: Frank W. Ballou, Ada L. Comstock, John A. Fairlie, A. C. Krey, Robert S. Lynd, Jesse H. Newlon, chairman.

School administrators, teachers of the social studies, and other interested groups have been generous in assistance given to the staff of the investigation. Communications from individuals who are interested in current activities of the commission should be sent to 316 Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, or 610 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

PERSONAL

J. P. Gilson, Keeper of Manuscripts and Egerton Librarian at the British Museum since 1912, died on June 16 at the age of 61. He is also remembered as joint editor of the *Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum*. H. I. Bell has been appointed in Mr. Gilson's place.

Henri Gœlzer, professor at the Sorbonne, who had been asked by the Union Internationale des Académies to direct the preparation of a new edition of Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis,* died on August 1 at the age of 76.

Sir Ernest Satow, distinguished diplomat, died on August 26 at the age of 86. He had edited for the Hakluyt Society the *Voyage of Captain*

Saris to Japan, 1613. He was also the author of a *Guide to Diplomatic Practice,* which reached a second edition in 1922.

Sir James Wycliffe Headlam-Morley, the British historian, died on September 6 at the age of 65. He was professor of Greek and Ancient History at Queen's College, London, 1894–1900. From 1902 to 1920 he was Staff Inspector of Secondary Schools in the department of Education. During the World War he entered the Foreign Office and from 1920 to 1928 he served as Historical Adviser to that office. He was also a member of the British delegation to the Peace Conference. As an historian he is remembered first as J. W. Headlam, the author of a volume on *Bismarck* in the Heroes of the Nations series. He took the additional name of Morley upon his inheritance of an estate of another branch of the family. His *History of Twelve Days* is well known, and also the fact that he was the collector of the documents which appear in volume XI. of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War.*

William Watts Folwell, first president and president emeritus of the University of Minnesota, died on September 18, at the age of 96. Since his retirement in 1907 from active service as professor of political science and librarian of the University of Minnesota he devoted most of his time to research in the field of Minnesota history. He had already written the volume entitled *Minnesota, the North Star State* in the American Commonwealth series. The fruit of his renewed studies appeared in a *History of Minnesota,* published by the Minnesota Historical Society. Of this, three volumes have been printed in 1921, 1924, and 1926, covering the narrative history of the state (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXVII. 807; XXX. 623; XXXIII. 164). A final volume, consisting of studies of various special topics, is now in press. Dr. Folwell finished his draft of this volume about three months before his death. He also completed a volume of reminiscences. His extensive collection of papers, which has been turned over to the Minnesota Historical Society, will prove of great value to students of cultural history. S. J. B.

Sir Valentine Chirol, journalist, long director of the foreign department of the London *Times,* who often ventured into the field of history to interpret public questions, died in London on October 22 at the age of 77. Among his writings were *India Old and New* (1922), *India,* in the Modern World series edited by H. A. L. Fisher, and *Fifty Years in a Changing World* (1927).

Thomas Frederick Tout, foremost scholar in the field of English medieval administrative history, died in London on October 23, at the age of 74. He was trained at Balliol College, Oxford. From 1890 until his retirement in 1925 he taught history in Owens College and in the University of Manchester, in which the college was later incorporated. Throughout these years he was a leader in university affairs, an enthusiastic teacher, the organizer of a school of history famed throughout England. While in America in 1928 he delivered the

Messenger Lectures at Cornell University and spoke at many other institutions. His paper read before the Mediaeval Academy of America, of which he was a Fellow, appeared in *Speculum*, October, 1929.

He was early a productive scholar, a contributor to the *Dictionary of National Biography,* and a writer of textbooks on English history. Among his other books of this period were *Edward I.* (1893), *The Empire and the Papacy, 918–1273* (1898), and *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III. to the Death of Edward III., 1216–1377* (1905).

The transition from his earlier interest to the new field of administrative history was marked by the appearance in 1909 of a short article in the *English Historical Review* entitled "The Chief Officers of the King's Wardrobe down to 1399". The results of the intensive labor of twenty years are embodied in a series of papers read at the John Rylands Library and elsewhere, and in two books, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II. in English History* (1914) and *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals.* Two volumes of the *Chapters* appeared in 1920, two more in 1928, and the fifth and final volume is now in press. The *Chapters* is a monumental piece of work based largely upon manuscript sources and is especially complete for the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., with whose death it ends. Clear and forceful in style, remarkably comprehensive, it is the greatest piece of historical reconstruction of a long period of English history since the days of Bishop Stubbs. Professor Tout's friends, who mourn his loss, will rejoice that he completed this work before he died. J. F. W.

It is reported that Prince Bernhardt von Bülow, former chancellor of the German Empire, before his death at Rome on October 28 had completed his memoirs. He had attached the stipulation that they should not be published within three months of his death. It is expected that they will appear in the current month and will fill six volumes, with many important documents in facsimile. By a curious coincidence the new prime minister of France, André Tardieu, published in November a volume entitled *Le Prince de Bülow* (Calmann-Lévy).

Professor Franklin L. Riley, of Washington and Lee University, died on November 10 at the age of 61. He had been professor of history at the University of Mississippi from 1897 to 1914, when he was called to Washington and Lee. He was one of the founders of the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History. He also reorganized the Mississippi Historical Society and was its secretary and treasurer until his removal to Lexington. He edited fourteen volumes of its publications. During the World War he served as professor of American history at the A. E. F. University at Beaune. Among his publications are *Colonial Origins of New England Senates* (1896), and *Spanish Policy in Mississippi after the Treaty of San Lorenzo* (1897). He was also joint author of textbooks of American history widely used in the South.

The American Council of Learned Societies has made the following announcement of "Grants in Aid of Research".

In March, 1930, the American Council of Learned Societies will award a limited number of grants in aid of research in the humanistic sciences: philosophy; philology, literature, and linguistics; art and archaeology; musicology; cultural and intellectual history, and auxiliary sciences.

The grants in aid of research are of two kinds:

(a) Small Grants. These grants are of any amount up to $300; they may be increased to not more than $500 when, in the opinion of the Committee on Fellowships and Grants, such increase is necessitated by unusual expenses, as of travel. They are available to all scholars possessing the doctor's degree or its equivalent in training, study, and experience, who are citizens or permanent residents of the United States or Canada and who are engaged in specific projects of research for which aid is actually needed. No grants will be made to assist in fulfilling the requirements for any academic degree.

(b) Larger Grants. These range in amount from $750 to $2,000, and are reserved for mature scholars of recognized achievement who are engaged in important undertakings of research to which they can devote at least six months without interruption. Their object is to assist in the advancement of knowledge through aiding individual enterprises of fundamental importance. They are subject to the same conditions of citizenship or residence as the small grants.

The American Council of Learned Societies also offers a number of research fellowships in the field of the humanistic sciences, available in July, 1930. The fellowships are of the post-doctoral type offered by the Social Science Research Council and the National Research Council. Their object is to assist the training of scholars and teachers; they are limited to those who have acquired the Ph.D. or its equivalent and who are still in the "training period". Fellows must be citizens or permanent residents of the United States or Canada, and ordinarily not over thirty-five years of age. The basic stipend is $1,800, subject to adjustment to meet individual needs; allowance may also be made for traveling expenses, etc. Awards will be announced in April.

Applications for both grants and fellowships must be made by January 15, 1930, on special forms provided by the Permanent Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

One of the ways in which Columbia University recently marked its 175th anniversary was unique. Twelve scholars whose contribution to the growth of the university had been especially notable were honored in the names of professorships. Of these a Professorship of Political Law was named for John W. Burgess, Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Constitutional Law, and its incumbent is Lindsay Rogers. It may be added that the Lieber Professorship, vacant since the death in 1922 of William A. Dunning, has been filled by the appointment of Robert M. MacIver, with the title of Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology.

Professor Wallace Notestein, of Yale University, has been added to the committee appointed in England to assemble materials for a record of past members of the House of Commons, 1264–1832.

The following announcements of appointments or promotions were received too late for notice in the October *Review*: *American University*, Washington, D. C., W. M. Gewehr of Denison University, to be professor; *Temple University*, Arthur N. Cook, to be professor; *Ohio Wesleyan University*, Dwight L. Dumond, to be professor; *University of Washington*, Ebba Dahlin and Eden Quainton, to be assistant professors; *University of Southern California*, G. G. Benjamin, to be chairman of the division of history and sociology, Frank H. Garver, to be chairman of the department of history.

Professor Owen C. Coy, of the University of Southern California, has been made secretary of the California Historical Association.

Robert S. Lynd was appointed in September Permanent Secretary of the Social Science Research Council.

La Révolution Française, journal of the Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution, in its July number, remarks apropos of a thesis for the "Doctorat de l'Université" presented by Miss Phoebe Heath to the University of Toulouse, upon the relations of Napoleon I. and the United States in 1812, that "ce travail, entièrement fait d'après des documents d'archives, pour la plupart inédits, a valu à son auteur la plus haute récompense que décerne la Faculté. Cet ouvrage a été jugé digne d'être admis dans les bibliothèques universitaires". Miss Heath was then holding the Belle Skinner fellowship from Vassar College; she now holds a fellowship in history in Washington.

GENERAL[1]

General review: Henri Sée, *Histoire Économique et Sociale, 1928–1929* (Revue Historique, July).

The partial revival of the temporal sovereignty of the pope through the recent treaty with Mussolini has given new interest to the earlier foreign relations of the States of the Church prior to 1870. It was a happy thought of Professor Leo F. Stock to describe in the *Catholic Historical Review* for October, on the basis of the records in the Department of State, the American Consuls to the Papal States, 1797–1870. Some interesting figures pass across the stage, including a grandson of Nathaniel Greene and W. J. Stillman, the artist. William D. Howells received an appointment but was transferred to Venice before he had a chance to take the position. The October number also includes an instructive review of the historical work of the late Cardinal Gasquet by Dom Adrian Morey of Downside Abbey. Another helpful contribution is a Survey of Source Materials for the Catholic History of the Southwest by Professor Paul J. Foik.

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[1] The date of publication of books mentioned in this and the following sections of the *Review* is 1929 unless otherwise specified.

In the *Historical Outlook* for October Paul E. Lutz presents the results of his inquiries in regard to Nationalism in German History Textbooks after the War. His point of departure is the report made in 1921 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which he finds was affected unfavorably by the impressions of the war. He reviews the German report made at Oslo by Arnold Reimann, president of the German History Teachers' Association (*Gutachten über die Deutschen Geschichtslehrbücher*), and gives his own conclusions based on an examination of fifteen leading German textbooks. One can not read this informative article without the feeling that it embodies a wholesome admonition to textbook writers in other countries besides Germany. In the November number C. C. Tansill gives a history of Early Plans for World Peace, beginning with that of Pierre Du Bois in 1306; Clark E. Persinger of New Mexico Normal University describes the movements in behalf of Internationalism in the '60s; and Harry J. Carman of Columbia University discusses the significant Contributions of Germany to World History.

The Bibliothèque Nationale has adopted a policy of making its treasures available through reproduction to scholars everywhere. A notable beginning has been made under the title of *Miniatures des plus Anciens Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, edited by Henri Omont of the Institute, who is "Conservateur" of the Department of Manuscripts. This is a folio of 66 pages and 140 plates in phototype, one in color. (Paris, H. Champion, 750 fr., $30.00.)

The organization and early administration of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust gives special interest to the biography of *Sir George Parkin*, by Sir John Willison (London, Macmillan, 12 s. 6 d.), for it was he who undertook this task in 1902. He was also one of the leaders in the efforts toward imperial federation.

Professor George Grafton Wilson's discussions in recent years of the problems which arise on the sea in time of war, conducted under the auspices of the Naval War College, have been collected under the title of *International Law Situations with Solutions and Notes* (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 115).

Among the recent publications of the World Peace Foundation, of Boston, are *Origin and Conclusion of the Paris Pact*, by Denys P. Myers, *The Pacific Area*, by George H. Blakeslee, and *The United States and the World Court*, by Philip C. Jessup, with a foreword by Elihu Root.

A Statistical Crime in the Seventeenth Century is the title of a "detective story" by Sir William Beveridge in the *Journal of Economic and Business History* for August. The mystery is the sudden and permanent drop in 1670 to a lower level in the curve of prices in Exeter. It should be noted that this list of prices has been discovered since the days of Thorold Rogers, that it extends from 1316 to 1820, and so is the "longest continuous record of prices that has been found". The mystery vanishes before the argument of Sir William Beveridge that the drop was due to a change from the Exeter bushel to that of Winchester, which was eight quarts smaller, the general use of which the government was trying to enforce. Fear of royal prosecution led the Exeter authorities to make the change without giving in their price lists the slightest indication that the standard of measurement had been altered. Hence a dangerous pitfall for unwary historians desirous of applying quantitative methods in the study of tendencies. The same number of the *Journal* has an article by Violet Barbour on Marine Risks and Insurance in the Seventeenth Century, and a translation by Professor A. E. R. Boak of the Book of Prefects, made up of regulations of trade, especially the mercantile activities of the guilds in tenth century Constantinople.

Professor F. M. Fling in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique,* XLVII., under the title of La Loi et l'Histoire argues that the historian's function is to construct historical syntheses. He is not merely, on the one hand, to narrate detailed facts nor, on the other, to develop generalized laws; the latter is the work of sociology. In the same number Professor Henri Berr offers Quelques Mots de Réponse à M. Fling, remarking that reality may provisionally be considered in the dual form of 'nature' and 'history', but is fundamentally one. Historical study, he explains, should pass through the two lower stages of erudition and narrative synthesis, a unification of reality constituting a philosophy of history *a posteriori.*

In *Anthropos* (XXIV., pp. 441–487) under the title Zu den Vorkolumbischen Verbindungen der Südsee-Völker mit Amerika, Dr. Georg Friederici presents interesting ethnographic parallels. He discusses in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (LX., Heft 1/3) the conditions under which ethnologists may use translated material and so extend the range of their studies.

Other books of interest in this field are: Johannes Janssen, *Aus dem Leben des Geschichtschreibers Johannes Janssen, 1829–1891* (Cologne, J. P. Bachem, 3.60 M.); Richard Winners, *Weltanschauung und Geschichtsauffassung Jacob Burckhardts* (Leipzig, Teubner, 4.80 M.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. S. Lobingier, *The Connecting Link in World Law* [Hebrew jurisprudence] (National University Law Review, May); L. Joleaud, *L'Atlantide; Esquisse de Protohistoire Eurafricaine* [probably in region of Syrtes] (Revue de Paris, August 15); Rudolf Fitzner, *Wie Entstand die Blonde Rasse?* [moved north from

Africa] (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); Henri Sée, *Remarques sur le Concept de Causalité en Histoire* [causality, strictly speaking, does not apply in field of history, yet paradoxically, historians must seek for causes; these are, however, to be regarded rather as determining conditions of historical phenomena] (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLVII.); Henri Sérouya, *La Paix et le Projet de Kant* (Mercure de France, September 1).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The *Mural Painting of El-'Amarneh,* edited by H. Frankfort (London, Egyptian Exploration Society, pp. ix, 74, plates 21, 84 s.), aside from other excellencies contains a contribution on the mural decoration of private houses by S. R. K. Glanville, which is regarded as the first adequate treatment of this phase of Egyptian art.

Excavations at Olynthus, Part I., the Neolithic Settlement, by George E. Mylonas, Ph.D. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, pp. xii, 108, 2 plates, 94 figures, $7.50), is a richly illustrated description of finds made incident to the excavation in 1928 of the site of the Greek city of Olynthus in Chalcidice. The settlement to which these finds belonged antedate, it is believed, the oldest city discovered by Schliemann at Troy. The inhabitants were not Indo-European, but belonged to a neolithic race which built villages in Macedonia three thousand years before Christ. One of the most interesting remains is a kiln in which the villagers baked their pottery. Sometimes these vases and pots were incised or painted. One of the colored plates pictures the "Foot of an incised legged vase". Not a trace of a weapon was found. This neglect of "preparedness" apparently cost the people their village to whose ruins the survivors did not return. Perhaps they were assimilated by their conquerors and dwelt afterwards in the near-by Helladic village of Agios Mamas.

The Hittite Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago after three years of excavation at the Mound of Alishar, 128 miles southwest of Angora, has established Level II. as Assyrian. The discovery of two cuneiform tablets in this Level adds a third ancient city to the two other sites in Asia Minor, Kül Tepe and Boghaz Köi, that have yielded cuneiform records. An Egyptian scarab has also been found at Alishar in the stratum identified as belonging to the Hittite empire. The Expedition has recovered eighty human skeletons, ranging in time from the Bronze Age to the coming of the Osmanli Turks, offering to physical anthropologists the first available material, especially as it concerns the Hittites. In regard to the work of the Palestine Expedition at Armageddon, in addition to what was said in the October *Review,* it may be noted that the Solomonic city with its houses and streets is being slowly disclosed. The most recent clearances have brought to light the Tyrian Gate of Solomon on the northwest of the city. The Institute is about to issue the first detailed report of the researches of its Prehistoric Survey Expedition, which demonstrate the presence of man in the Nile

Valley back to a Plio-Pleistocene date, proof being furnished by artifacts found buried in actual earth formations. He is thus the earliest geologically dated man ever found in the Ancient Near East. The Epigraphic Survey has in press its first volume of records, in modern facsimiles, from the walls of the Medinet-Habu Temple at Luxor. Another work soon to appear is the *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* in two volumes. Communication no. 6, *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor,* by H. H. von der Osten (University of Chicago Press, pp. 153, figures 160), recounts journeys undertaken in 1927 and 1928 to discover sites for future excavation, in the hope of learning the extent, scope, and characteristics of Hittite culture. A wide area of central and eastern Asia Minor was traversed, innumerable hüyüks or mounds were discovered and one hüyük and two sites were chosen for excavation during the following year. This Communication is, moreover, an interesting booklet of travel.

As Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt was fruitful for the study of Egyptian archaeology and history the British occupation of Mesopotamia in 1918 led to important discoveries in Assyriology, primarily because R. Campbell Thompson of the British Museum staff was a captain in the British army of occupation. The work which he and others did on that occasion as well as the general progress of Assyriology in England since the war is described by T. Fish in the July *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library of Manchester.

Volumes VII. and VIII. of Stéphane Gsell's monumental *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord,* which have recently appeared, have as their subtitles *La République Romaine et les Rois Indigènes* and *Jules César et l'Afrique, Fin des Royaumes Indigènes* (Paris, Hachette, 45 fr. each).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Benjamin D. Meritt, *The Reconstitution of the Tribute Lists* [See A. B. West's article, p. 267] (American Journal of Archeology, July); L. Constans, *Le Latin et l'Histoire de Rome* [reflection of history in language] (Journal des Savants, May); Richard Heuberger, *Von Pons Drusi nach Sublavione* [the Brenner in antiquity] (Klio, XXIII. 1); Albert Rabe, *Die Senatssitzung am 8. November des Jahres 63 v. Chr. und die Entstehung der Ersten Catilinarischen Rede Ciceros* (Klio, XXIII. 1); Jérôme Carcopino, *Le Mariage d'Octave et de Livie et la Naissance de Drusus* (Revue Historique, July); Hermann Aubin, *Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Römischen Deutschlands* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXLI. 1); B. Filow, *Les Dernières Découvertes Archéologiques en Bulgarie* (*La Revue Bulgarie,* 1929, pts. 3-4).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: E. Jordan, *Histoire Ecclésiastique, Moyen Age* (Revue Historique, September).

The opening article in *Speculum* for October is T. F. Tout's delightful address on Literature and Learning in the English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century. Helen R. Bittermann writes on the Organ in the Early Middle Ages, disposing of the old fable of its introduction under Pepin and discussing its form and its place in ritual. C. R. Morey contributes a second article on the Covers of the Lorsch Gospels (the first article appeared in *Speculum,* vol. III., no. 1). J. H. Mozley discusses the text of the Speculum Stultorum, and K. J. Conant continues his account of the excavations at Cluny, discussing the significance of the abbey church. Among the reviews is to be noted especially D. B. Macdonald's review of Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science.*

Le Moyen Age, January–April, 1929, contains an important article by Georges Tessier: Les Derniers Travaux de M. Levillain sur l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'Époque Mérovingienne, and two interesting essays: Jean Vielliard, Notes sur l'Iconographie de Saint Pierre, and Guy de Tervarent, Légendes et Reliques: le Cas des onze mille Vierges. Important reviews in this issue are Schlumberger, *Byzance et les Croisades, Pages Médiévales* (Maurice Prou); Max Buchner, *Das Vizepapsttum des Abtes von St.-Denis* (L. Levillain); T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* (E. Perroy).

The Mediaeval Academy of America announces the forthcoming publication of two important works: *A facsimile of Cicero's De Oratore as copied and revised by Servatus Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières, 842–862(?)*, with an introduction by Charles Henry Beeson, and *Studies in the Script of Tours, I: a Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* by Edward Kennard Rand, volume I. text; volume II. plates.

Mélanges Charles Diehl, which will soon be published, will contain articles by thirty-seven scholars who have joined to recognize M. Diehl's long and fruitful career. The titles give promise of valuable contributions to many phases of Byzantine history. The price is 350 francs, and subscriptions may be sent to Librairie Ernest Leroux, 28, rue Bonaparte, Paris VI.

Lynn Thorndike has an important article in *Isis* for September, on Vatican Latin Manuscripts in the history of Science and Medicine. The absence of a complete catalogue for the Vatican archives makes Professor Thorndike's survey indispensable for investigators in the history of science.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains a description by Professor C. R. Morey of Princeton University of a recent gift, the Landevennec Gospels, "the single considerable example of Breton illumination in the ninth century so far known". The manuscript is to be published in extenso in the next volume of *Art Studies: Medieval, Renaissance and Modern.*

C. Kenneth Brampton has just published a new edition of William of Ockham's *Epistola ad Fratres Minores* with notes and introduction.

This letter had previously been edited (1926) by Léon Baudry in *Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine.*

Joan Evans's *Life in Medieval France* (London, 1925) has been translated into French by Eugène Droz, treasurer of the Société des Anciens Textes Français, with a preface by Professor Alfred Jeanroy of the University of Paris (Paris, Payot, 30 fr.).

The legends and literature which grew about the memory of Thomas à Becket are studied critically by Emmanuel Walberg in *La Tradition Hagiographique de Saint Thomas Becket avant la Fin du XII^e^ Siècle* (Paris, Eugène Droz, 30 fr.).

The origin, practices, and power of the Hanseatic League are described by Mrs. E. G. Nash in *The Hansa, its History and Romance* (New York, Dodd, $5.00). It is based on a wide study of the records. The author gives a grim picture of the ruthlessness with which the interests of the league were maintained or extended in its northern "komtors", but explains that for excellent reasons it did not venture to treat the Venetians in this fashion. The volume is illustrated.

Students of Wyclif's writings are familiar with the work which S. H. Thomson has done. In a pamphlet on *The order of writing of Wyclif's philosophical works* (Prague) from internal evidence he reaches conclusions very different from those which have usually been accepted and his arguments are weighty.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Granić, *Die Rechtliche Stellung und Organisation der Griechischen Klöster nach dem Justinianischen Recht* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXIX. 1-2); W. A. Pantin, *A Medieval Treatise on Letter-writing with Examples* (Bulletin of The John Rylands Library, Manchester, vol. 13, no. 2, July, 1929); K. Hampe, *Kaiser Otto III. und Rom* (Historische Zeitschrift, Bd. 140, Heft 3, 1929); C. Erdmann, *Der Kreuzzugsgedanke in Portugal* (Historische Zeitschrift, Bd. 141, Heft 1); Albert Brackmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II. in "Mythischer Schau"* (Historische Zeitschrift, Bd. 140, Heft 3, 1929); E. Robo, *The Black Death in the Hundred of Farnham* (English Historical Review, October); Evelyn Jackson, *Administration of the County of Molise in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,* Part I. (English Historical Review, October); J. Haller, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des Marsilius von Padua* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVIII., neue folge XI., heft II., 1929); H. Grundmann, *Kleine Beiträge über Joachim von Fiore* (*ibid.*).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: Preserved Smith, *Letters of the Humanists* (Journal of Modern History, December).

In the *Journal of Modern History* for December, Walter L. Dorn deals with Frederic the Great and Lord Bute, Ethyn Morgan Williams, with Women Preachers in the Civil War, and Frederick Stanley Rodkey, with Lord Palmerston and the Rejuvenation of Turkey. The bibliographical sections of the *Journal* are mentioned elsewhere.

Harper and Brothers announce a new series of histories, to be entitled the Rise of Modern Europe. Like the American Nation series it will not be intended primarily for classroom use, but will seek to furnish the intelligent layman as well as the college student with an authoritative treatment of the broader lines of European development. Social tendencies in the widest sense of the term will be included as well as politics, diplomacy, and war. There are to be twenty volumes illustrated, each of about 100,000 words. Several of the titles indicate a desire to depart from the conventional and describe affairs from a new point of view—"The Commercial Aristocracy, 1715–1740", "The Romantic Reaction, 1815–1832", "Prosperity and Doubt, 1871–1900", "The Great Illusion, 1900–1914". The volume on the World War is entitled "The World in the Crucible". Among the authors already selected are Cheyney, Lord, Violet Barbour, Roberts, Brinton, Gay, Ford, Artz, Hayes, Fay, and Seymour. Professor William L. Langer is the General Editor and the author of the volume on "The Bourgeois Experiment, 1832–1852". This list of names gives reason to believe that the series will be, as the publishers hope, a monument to American scholarship.

In the *First Delineation of the New World and the First Use of the Name America on a Printed Map* (London, Henry Stevens, 3 guineas) Henry N. Stevens constructs an elaborate argument to show that a map which was acquired by the John Carter Brown Library in 1901 and which he designates as S–JCB was the first to record the coasts discovered and the first also to call the new lands America. Like the Waldseemüller map it was designed at St. Dié, preceding the Contarini map of 1506 by only a few months.

In *Australian Discovery at Sea* (London, Dent, 10 s. 6 d.) Professor Ernest Scott, of the University of Melbourne, has presented an edition of the diaries and narratives of the early voyagers, with a brief but adequate introduction. This volume supplements the *Discovery of Australia* of Professor G. Arnold Wood (London, 1922). Unfortunately, where translations are used the editor has utilized old translations which were not free from inaccuracies. These narratives and diaries, however, reveal the intense interest of the discoverers in the new lands and the exhilaration of the experience.

Under the editorship of the late Professor A. Aulard and of B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch an edition has been published of the *Déclarations des Droits de l'Homme* (Paris, Payot, pp. 447, 40 fr.), giving the texts of such pronouncements in all countries together with other texts which constitute guarantees of individual liberty. The volume belongs to the "Bibliothèque Politique et Économique".

New York University has purchased the library of the late Professor Aulard. It is rich in pamphlets, periodicals, and books on the French

Revolution, and is to become the beginning of an Aulard Collection on that subject. It will be available to students by the fall of the present year.

In the *Historische Zeitschrift,* CXL. 3, Paul Schmithenner explains Die Auseinandersetzung Asiens und Europas in ihrer Bedeutung für den Krieg. He holds that Asia's influence on Europe is shown (1) in the technique of war, the original antithesis of Asia's mounted missile-shooting hordes and Europe's close-fighting infantry being synthesized by Europe's adoption of cavalry in the Middle Ages and gunpowder in modern times; (2) in the concept of war itself, the humanitarian, religious impulse from Asia expressing itself in European efforts to modify the horrors of war by international agreements and in the peace movement, but also, contrariwise, in the heightened militarism of self-devoted citizen armies; the repercussion of these conflicting tendencies on Asia and the triumph of one or the other in the world at large remains doubtful.

The *Working of the Minorities System under the League of Nations,* by Joseph S. Rouček, Ph.D. (Prague, Orbis Publishing Co., pp. 129), is mainly concerned with the origin and legal status of the system. Chapter V., however, deals with selected cases under its operation. The author finds the chief difficulty in the fact that only members of the Council of the League may set in motion the procedure established in the treaties and that they feel a natural reluctance to hale a sovereign state before their tribunal.

Raymond Leslie Buell has published a new edition of his *Europe: a History of Ten Years* (New York, Macmillan, pp. 452, $2.50), adding a chapter with a more complete discussion of the organization and progress of the League of Nations. He takes a hopeful view of the future of the League, and thinks that the repeated failures since the war of the old diplomacy have led the foreign offices of the great powers to take it more seriously, with the consequence that "Geneva is the meeting place of the leading statesmen of Europe". He also believes that while a single power may block revisions of the Treaty of Versailles, in the Danzig question, for example, problems of this type can be given an airing in the Assembly, and if the opposition refuses concessions, the "whole matter might then be referred to the Council under Article XI.". This edition also contains an appendix on the Reparation Report of June, 1929.

The useful survey, *International Relations,* by Raymond Leslie Buell, published in 1925 (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXI. 577) has reached a second edition (New York, Holt, pp. xvii, 838, $5.00). The author has added here and there a sentence or a paragraph or two, in order to bring his treatment to date. Some topics which required more detail are the Greco-Bulgarian affair of 1925, the Optant problem involving Hungary and Rumania, and the territorial dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay. The influence of the Kellogg treaty is shown in the heading of chapter

XXVI.: "Renunciation of War" being substituted for "Outlawry of War". This chapter is substantially rewritten. The author's discussion of the problems in connection with the peace pact preserves the spirit of fair-mindedness which characterized the work in its original form. A supplementary bibliography lists the books on the several topics which have appeared since 1925.

Other books in this field are: Corrado Barbagallo, *Le Origini della Grande Industria Contemporanea, 1750–1850,* t. I. (Venice, La Nuova Italia, 25 l.); J. Y. Simpson, tr. and ed., *The Saburov Memoirs or Bismarck and Russia* (Cambridge University Press, 15 s.); Oscar Jászi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (University of Chicago Press, $5.00).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Carlo Segrè, *Il Petrarca a Montpellier* (Nuova Antologia, July 16); Alice Fernand-Halphen, *Une Grande Dame Juive de la Renaissance* [Dona Gracia Mendesia Nasi] (Revue de Paris, September 1); Roberto Giorgi de Pons, *Amerigo Vespucci nella Critica Storica* (Nuova Antologia, September 1); Nello Toscanelli, *Gli Italiani all' Assedio di Constantinopoli del 1453* (Nuova Antologia, October 1); W. Maurer, *Franz Lambert von Avignon und das Verfassungsideal der Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae von 1526* [a discussion of Lambert's views on theology and polity with special reference to Lutheran influence] (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVIII. 2); Rev. Robert Hull, S.J., *The Council of Trent and Tradition* (Ecclesiastical Review, November); Henri Drouot, *La Guerre aux Moutiers pendant la Ligue: le Pillage de Citeaux,* and André Lasseray, *Les Corps Belges et Liégeois aux Armées de la République, 1792–1793* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, May); J. Holland Rose, *British West India Commerce as a factor in the Napoleonic War* (Cambridge Historical Journal, October); Fr. M. Kircheisen, *Pourquoi la Guerre Éclata en 1806 entre la France et la Prusse?* [The war, fundamentally due to Napoleon's contempt for Prussian weakness and to Frederick William's indecision, was avoidable; had it been avoided, the whole course of European history would have been altered] (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 3); Otto Hintze, *Wirtschaft und Politik im Zeitalter des Modernen Kapitalismus* [in opposition to Sombart, emphasizes the close connection of economic and political history] (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXVII. 1).

WORLD WAR

General review: Robert C. Binkley, *Ten Years of Peace Conference History* (Journal of Modern History, December).

The French translation of *Die Grosse Politik* has now reached volume VIII., May 7, 1891, to October 13, 1893. This volume is translated by Henri Audoin, professor at the Lycée Montaigne (Paris, Costes, 80 fr.).

In accordance with the plan already announced the second volume to appear of *Documents Diplomatiques Français relatifs aux Origines de la Guerre de 1914 (1871–1914)* is volume I. of the first of the three series, 1871–1900. This volume goes from May 10, 1871, the date of the Treaty of Frankfort, to June 26, 1875 (Paris, Costes, pp. xlvii, 496, 60 fr.).

It is reported that the Austrian government has followed the example of the other protagonists of the World War by publishing a collection of documents in eight volumes covering the period from the Bosnian crisis in 1908 to the outbreak of the struggle in 1914.

It is refreshing to find an article on Edward VII. which exhibits the facts, without seeking to prove that he was either the fiend of the *Einkreisung* or the prophet of a defensive league against a Germany of sinister purpose. It is not surprising that a historian of the type of Alfred Stern should write such an article, König Eduard VII. und die auswärtige Politik Englands, *Europäische Gespräche,* September.

In the series of characterizations of "Staatsmänner und Diplomaten" by Dr. Alfred Vagts in *Europäische Gespräche* no. 6, in the August issue, is one of Colonel House. It is in effect an extended review of the four volumes of the *Intimate Papers.* The author's interpretations are often illuminating, and on the whole sympathetic, but his final impression, apropos of the failure of House to attempt the "impossible" at the peace conference, is bitter, even comparing the American statesman with Talleyrand for the absence of such qualities as firmness, compassion, and civil courage.

An Italian war correspondent, Luciano Magrini, has contributed in *Il Dramma di Seraievo* (Milan, Edizioni "Athena", 10 l.) testimony drawn from such men as Major Tankositch during the Serbian retreat to the Adriatic. He repeats that Tankositch was flattered by the rôle assigned to him and declared that the conspiracy to murder the Archduke was the work of the Black Hand rather than of the Narodna Odbrana. Pasitch knew of it but the Black Hand made ineffective his measures for checking the conspirators. Testimony obtained in such conversations may be received "under benefit of inventory", but it adds nothing material to the current conception of the affair.

With the title *L'Attentat de Serajévo* Alfred Mousset has published the stenographic report of the trial of the assassins in Payot's Collection de Mémoires, Études et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale (Paris, Payot, 50 fr.).

Sir William Marshall, who succeeded Sir Stanley Maude in November, 1917, as Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia, has written *Memories of Four Fronts* (London, Benn, 21 s.). His career illustrates how rapidly reputations were made or lost in that great struggle, for he had begun in 1914 as a lieutenant-colonel. He believes that the Gallipoli campaign was lost for the lack of shells, which was the fault of the "Dardanelles

Committee ". In the campaign for the recovery of Kut and the capture of Bagdad, Marshall was in command of a corps of Indian troops. An introduction to the volume has been written by General Sir Ian Hamilton.

Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, the well-known military writer, has published a brief treatment of *British Strategy, a Study of the Application of the Principles of War* (London, Constable, 10 s.). As his illustrations are drawn chiefly from the campaigns of the World War his points of view are enlightening to the student of that struggle. An introduction has been contributed by Field-Marshal Sir George Milne, chief of the Imperial General Staff.

The German official history of the World War, *Der Weltkrieg 1914–1918,* edited in the Reichsarchiv, has reached the sixth volume: *Die Militärischen Operationen zu Lande, der Herbst-Feldzug, 1914, der Abschluss der Operationen im Westen und Osten* (Berlin, Mittler, 26 M.). The chief themes of interest are the failure in Flanders, where Falkenhayn was unwilling to close the year without a success, and Hindenburg's defeat of the great Russian offensive, although he had only six divisions. Division of interest, however, between East and West prevented this countermove from becoming a decisive stroke.

It was a gracious act on the part of the editors of *Europäische Gespräche* to ask Professor Louis Eisenmann, of the Sorbonne, to explain in the October number the principles upon which the collection of *Documents Diplomatiques Français* (1871–1914) was to be made. In this article he undertakes no comparisons with either the German or the British collections, but emphasizes the guarantees of scientific impartiality which are implicit in the situation, so much being already known, or are provided by the system adopted. He argues that the presence of so many diplomats on the commission need not cause alarm, for the idea is simply to draw upon their experience; moreover, they are outnumbered by the historians. He closes with some criticisms of the first volume.

Professor C. Raymond Beazley opened a series of articles in *Kriegsschuldfrage* for September on Die Verantwortlichkeit für den Weltkrieg, approaching the problem from a point of view somewhat novel. He first cites a passage from the speech of Clemenceau to the German delegation on June 16, 1919, and the Allied answer to the German plea in abatement and proceeds to examine the question whether these statements represent a sound conception of Germany's foreign policy in the decades preceding the war.

Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War* has appeared in a German translation, and is soon to appear in French.

Other books in this field are: Wolfgang Foerster, *La Stratégie Allemande pendant la Guerre de 1914–1918* (Paris, Payot, 50 fr.); Karl Mühlmann, *Deutschland und die Türkei, 1913–1914* (Berlin, Walter

Rothschild, 5.60 M.); Commandant M. Larcher, *La Grande Guerre dans les Balkans,* Préface du Maréchal Franchet d'Espérey (Paris, Payot, 30 fr.).

Articles in periodicals: *Der Verhütete Weltkrieg, 1912* (Der Krieg, October); Curt Schütt, *Serbiens und der Entente Vorkriegspolitik im Lichte neuer Urkunden* [Boghitschevitsch papers] (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); Mario Carraciolo, *Il Comando Unico e il Comando Italiano nel 1918* (Nuova Antologia, July 16); *La Paix des Empires Centraux, 1916–1918* [peace initiatives of central powers], I., concl. (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1, 15).

S. B. F.

GREAT BRITAIN

In the *English Historical Review* for October J. R. Tanner deals with an interesting phase of the career of Samuel Pepys by utilizing the "Court Minutes" of Trinity House after 1659 and some folio volumes of letters which escaped destruction in the fires of 1666 and 1714. Pepys was twice Master of Trinity and his connection was marked by important reforms in organization and methods of administration. At first the omens seemed against him. When he dined at Trinity House as a guest of Sir William Penn, before he was even a 'Younger Brother', he remarked: "I eat a little too much beef, which made me sick." A year later the record is equally pathetic, for it was "five pasties in three days that almost cloyed" him. It was not these early gastronomic feats, however, which were remembered of him after the Revolution of 1688 had forced his resignation. In 1701 he received a letter from Trinity House, which said that "The gentlemen of this House cannot but always retain a sense of what you have done for it heretofore . . .". Another article by L. B. Namier explains the Circular Letters: an Eighteenth Century Whip to Members of Parliament, which were one of the early methods of introducing party discipline. To this number also Professor Clyde L. Grose, of Northwestern University, has contributed two unpublished reports of the French ambassador in the time of Louis XIV. upon his payments to members of Parliament.

In *History* for October, Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, with the title of the Shadow of India in Russian History, seeks to show, with the use especially of material from the Russian archives available since the World War, that British fears of Russian attempts upon India were based upon a misconception of the situation. The only time when the Russian government seriously contemplated expeditions against the Indian frontier was when relations with England were strained and such a threat would offer an effective diversion. Another informing article is Medieval German Art: a Beginner's Notes, by Professor E. F. Jacob, which is in part a record of journeys of personal observation of the artistic objects or monuments of the medieval period. The Historical

Revision of this number is by Dr. Helena M. Chew and deals with Scutage.

In the *Bulletin* for November of the Institute for Historical Research, Professor A. F. Pollard presents the second of his Tudor Gleanings, Wolsey and the Great Seal, the problem of the letters patent embodied in a document preserved at Eaton Hall, the seat of the Duke of Westminster near Chester. A photographic reproduction of the document is given. The question is whether Wolsey actually received the chancellorship for life. The *Bulletin* also records the discussions at the Anglo-American Conference of July, 1929, chiefly concerning means by which duplication of effort may be avoided, where such duplication implies waste of publication funds.

A new edition of *A Shorter History of England and Great Britain*, by Arthur Lyon Cross (New York, Macmillan, $4.00), gives the author an opportunity to revise the history of the more recent period, especially in regard to the World War, in the light of the official documents now available, and to bring together in a single chapter at the end the development of the British Empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In regard to the origins of the war, as he says in his new preface, and as appears from the narrative, he "has not joined the ranks of the 'revisionists'". The most interesting phase of the history of Great Britain is the new relation of the dominions and the mother country defined at the Conference of 1926. The bibliographies have also been brought up to date.

Acton Griscom has published a new critical edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (London, Longmans, 42 s.), basing his text upon a manuscript contemporary with Geoffrey, noting also variants from other early manuscripts. He develops the theory that Geoffrey's sources were not so much his fertile imagination as a Celtic original. He finds that certain Welsh chronicles while they record his tales give names and episodes which he does not mention. A typical chronicle or "Brut" literally translated by the late Robert Ellis Jones from a manuscript preserved in Jesus College, Oxford, is included in the edition in order to offer support to the editor's theory.

A British colony often the subject of controversy is Kenya, and a discriminating work upon it is welcome, especially when written by one long-resident there as surveyor and geologist, C. W. Hobley. The title is *Kenya, from Chartered Company to Crown Colony, Thirty Years of Exploration and Administration in British East Africa*, with a foreword by the Right Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore (London, Witherby, 16 s.). Of the 245,000 square miles of territory only 60,000 is closely settled; the rest is a museum of natural history and anthropology.

The life of the *Earl of Halsbury*, by Mrs. A. Wilson-Fox (London, Chapman and Hall, 30 s.), is interesting for the long period of his activity, beginning with opposition to Peel as assistant to his father, editor of the *Standard*, and closing as leader of the "Diehards" in the controversy over the reform of the House of Lords. As Lord Chancellor Halsbury rendered the famous Taff Vale decision.

Beckles Willson's *Paris Embassy, 1814–1920* (London, 1927), has been translated into French under the title of *L'Ambassade d'Angleterre, 1814–1920, un Siècle de Relations Diplomatiques Franco-Britanniques*, by Edmond Dupuydauby (Paris, Payot, pp. 295, 25 fr.). The emphasis, indicated by the arrangement of the title, is upon personages rather than upon problems. It is a notable list, the men who come and go in the former mansion of Pauline Borghèse in the rue St.-Honoré, Wellington, Stuart, Granville, the two Cowleys, Normanby, Lyons, Lytton, Dufferin, and Bertie; and their wives are equally interesting. Although the author passes rather lightly over the diplomatic history of the period, it is of advantage to know more of the characteristics of the British ambassadors who figure in them.

One of the volumes appropriate to the centenary of Catholic Emancipation is Denis Gwynn's life of *Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Liberator* (Hutchinson, 18 s.). The author emphasizes a characteristic of O'Connell which is commonly forgotten, his love of order and reverence for law. He hated violence. Perhaps his early experience in France had something to do with this, because he was at a French school when the Revolution broke out, being educated for the army or the priesthood, and the school was closed by Revolutionary soldiers as a center of clericalism and reaction.

The new biographer of the Marquis of Wellesley, P. E. Roberts, in his *Lord Wellesley in India* (London, Bell, 15 s.), has been able to throw a pleasanter light upon the great governor-general's personality by utilizing family correspondence preserved in the British Museum, and which earlier biographers ignored. These are principally the letters of his mother to whom he was devoted and attentive, which could not be said of his brother the Duke. The author is a convinced eulogist of Wellesley's Indian administration.

It is unusual to find a volume on English architecture with the parish church as the center of interest. The brief treatment by E. A. Greening Lamborn in *The Parish Church, its Architecture and Antiquities* (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 160, $1.50) is the more welcome. The author shows how each feature of the church building developed out of the needs of worship and was affected by structural requirements. The volume is elaborately illustrated. Indeed, the author says that "the best book on architecture is a picture-book". In his later chapters he gives practical directions how to trace out the history and character of each part of the fabric.

An important contribution to the history of prisons and of prison reform in England is made by Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue in *Bridewell Hospital, Palace, Prison, Schools, 1603–1629* (London, Lane, 21 s.), which continues an earlier volume published six years ago. It seems that this was the first of the London prisons to provide medical attendance, and that even in the seventeenth century an effort was made to give instruction not only in reading and writing but in useful trades.

The fear in England that her treasures of old manuscripts and books in private possession are in danger from American millionaire collectors must be somewhat assuaged by the generosity of J. Pierpont Morgan who has advanced over £60,000 in order that the manuscript of the Luttrell Psalter may be presented to the British Museum, where it has been on deposit, and that a Book of Hours illuminated for the Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V., may, under the same generous terms, be purchased for some other public institution.

The *Life of Lord Fisher of Kilverstone,* by Admiral Sir R. H. Bacon, in two volumes (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 42 s.) completes the picture of this remarkable seaman, sketched in his own *Memoirs* and *Records.* Many of his letters are utilized to define his attitude on each important question or in each crisis. Admiral Bacon is, however, so strong a partisan that his volumes are filled with denunciations of Fisher's opponents.

Articles in periodicals: Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Administration Monarchique et Parlement en Angleterre sous les Règnes d'Édouard III. et de Richard II.,* I., concl. (Journal des Savants, June, July); Sir W. S. Holdsworth, K. C., D. C. L., *The House of Lords, 1689–1783* (Law Quarterly Review, October); George Glasgow, *French Influence on British Policy* (Queen's Quarterly, Autumn); Maurice Lanoire, *À Propos d'un Centenaire: Edmund Burke* (Revue de Paris, October 15).

FRANCE

General review: Louis Halphen, *Histoire de France, le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Volois, suite et fin* (Revue Historique, July).

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Fine Arts, Louis Hautecoeur has brought out three richly illustrated volumes, *L'Architecture en Bourgogne* (Paris, G. Van Oest, pp. 196, plates 189, 650 fr.). Among the famous churches portrayed are Sens, Cluny, and Citeaux. There are also many plans and sketches. These volumes belong to the series in which *La Peinture en Bourgogne,* by Louis Réau, and *La Sculpture en Bourgogne,* by Marcel Aubert, have already appeared.

It is now possible to study in more leisurely fashion the history of Paris since the fourteenth century as illustrated in the Musée Carnavalet, for Prosper Dorbec has put much of this material in a little book entitled *L'Histoire de Paris au Musée Carnavalet* (Paris, Rieder, pp. 100, plates 40).

It seems to be a far cry from notarial records to the history of art, but Maurice Roy, formerly councillor in the Cour des Comptes, has been able through them to establish more accurately the source and chronology of works of art in regard to which there has been much random conjecture. In his volume *Artistes et Monuments de la Renaissance en France* (Champion, pp. 432) he has also readjusted reputations, among them that of Pierre Bontemps, somewhat thrown into the shade by that of Jean Goujon. To him he ascribes a large part of the tomb of Francis I. in the basilica of St. Denis.

The *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française du XVI^e Siècle,* edited by Edmond Huguet (Paris, Champion), has now reached the first fascicle of volume II. and the word *capelan* (*chapelain*).

An interesting example of the way in which the Muse of History may be persuaded to have a part in propaganda is furnished by *L'Édit de Nantes et la Question de la Tolérance,* by Joseph Faurey (Paris, Boccard, pp. 61), for it opens with a careful account of how Henry IV. was forced to grant the edict and closes with a hint that the traditional monarchy is the surest guarantee of toleration.

Another edition of Carlyle's *French Revolution* (New York, Dutton, 2 vols., $6.00) argues either a still lively interest in the subject or in Carlyle's interpretation of it, perhaps both. Hilaire Belloc has written the introduction. He finds it remarkable that Carlyle, himself one of the most pronounced "Teutonians" of the Victorian era, should have discerned the essential character of so French a movement and been able to portray with vivid exactness personages like Mirabeau. He explains, however, that Carlyle failed to understand men whose careers could be less easily sketched in the language of the emotions, Robespierre, for example, and Louis XVI. He also says that Carlyle did not see the relation of war to the Revolution, especially the fact of "Victories pursuing the Terror like furies". It is interesting to note his assertion that Carlyle is one of the most accurate of the historians who have written on the Revolution. The illustrations of this edition are a valuable addition, both the drawings in pen and ink by G. E. Chambers of buildings which remain and the reproductions of contemporary portraits or sketches.

Colonel Nemours, the Haitian minister to France, has added a pathetic chapter to the story of Napoleon in his *Histoire de la Captivité et de la Mort de Toussaint-Louverture* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 25 fr.).

Edouard Driault is publishing certain of Napoleon's writings under the general title of "Pages Napoléoniennes". Two of these are *Le Discours de Lyon* and *Le Souper de Beaucaire* (Paris, Morancé, 12 fr., 8 fr.).

In his life of Stendhal the late Arthur Chuquet intimates that Stendhal's opinions upon Napoleon can neither be given too much weight nor altogether ignored. It is a satisfaction to have his *Vie de Napoléon* and *Mémoires sur Napoléon* in a critical edition, prepared by Albert Royer, and with a preface by the well-known Napoleonic scholar Albert Pingaud (Paris, Champion, 180 fr.). They are a part of the *Oeuvres Complètes* published under the direction of Paul Arbelet.

The subtitle of Commandant Jacques Humbert's *Bazaine* in the series of "Récits d'Autrefois" (Paris, Hachette, pp. 121) is *Le Drame de Metz,* and it is well chosen. No army was ever more grossly betrayed. Bazaine does not seem to have been actually a traitor. He had no vaulting ambitions. He was merely "an ignorant" whom the vicissitudes of fortune thrust into a position of immense responsibility. Even as a fighter, although his courage was imperturbable, his attention was concentrated upon the scene before his eyes, and he forgot the rest of the army. He said to Prince Frederic-Charles after the surrender: "Je me serais trouvé plus à l'aise avec deux corps d'armée qu'à la tête de cette énorme masse. . . ." The generals under him were not much better. Their chief concern, as his, was to shift responsibility to some one else.

The *Revue de Paris* has published (Oct. 1, 15, Nov. 1) the Journal of General de Castelnau, aide-de-camp of Napoleon III., with the title "Sédan et Wilhelmshöhe". It is edited by Louis Sonolet. The entries are brief, and yet specific enough so that the reader has no difficulty in picturing the rapidly shifting scene in the last tragedy of the Second Empire.

The great enterprise of the *Histoire de la Nation Française,* edited by Gabriel Hanotaux, whose literary and scholarly productivity seems only to increase with his years, has now been brought to a conclusion. It will be recalled that the plan of this coöperative enterprise differs from that conducted by Professor Lavisse. For example, as appears from the review of volume IX. on p. 335 the volumes deal not with periods but with phases. If more than one volume is required to present the development of a particular phase then a partial treatment by periods becomes necessary. The volume which concludes the work is number V. in the general series, number III. in its own group and gives, as its title indicates, the *Histoire de la France depuis Napoléon jusqu'à la Paix de Versailles* (*1804–1920*) *et Conclusion,* and the author is M. Hanotaux (Paris, Plon, pp. 680, 85 fr.).

The Société de l'Histoire des Colonies, in coöperation with the Académie des Sciences Coloniales, is engaged upon a collection or Bibliothèque Coloniale, which is to include not only historical works, but also documents and new editions of works first printed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and which are now rare. The third and fourth volumes of the series, just published, are *Les Dernières Années de Dupleix; son Procès avec la Compagnie des Indes,* by Alfred Martineau, and *Relations Inédites de la Tunisie,* by M. Monchicourt.

Other books in this field: Yvonne Bezard, *La Vie Rurale dans le Sud de la Région Parisienne de 1450 à 1560* (Paris, Firmin-Didot); Paul Jeulin, *L'Évolution du Port de Nantes; Organisation et Trafic depuis les Origines* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 60 fr.); Gaston Martin, *Nantes au XVIII^e^ Siècle, l'Administration de Gérard Mellier, 1709–1720–1729* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 35 fr.); B. Bois, *La Vie Scolaire et les Créations Scolaires en Anjou pendant la Révolution* (Paris, Alcan, 45 fr.); Léon Dubreuil, *Un Révolutionnaire de Basse-Bretagne, Nicolas Armez, 1754–1825* (30 fr.); Ian Allan Henning, *L'Allemagne de Mme. de Staël et la Polémique Romantique, 1814–1830* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 60 fr.); Dmitry Merejkovsky, *Napoléon, l'Homme*, traduit du Russe par M. Dumesnil de Gramont (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 12 fr.); André Gain, *La Restauration et les Biens des Émigrés, la Législation Concernant les Biens Nationaux de Seconde Origine et son Application dans l'Est de la France, 1814–1832*, 2 v. (Nancy, Société d'Impressions Typographiques); Margery E. Elkington, *Les Relations de Société entre l'Angleterre et la France sous la Restauration, 1814–1830* (Paris, Honoré Champion); Paul Lévy, *Histoire Linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine*, T. 2, *de la Révolution française à 1918* (Paris, Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres", 50 fr.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: André Wilmart, *Alain Le Roux et Alain Le Noir, Comtes de Bretagne* [careers of the commander of the Breton contingent at Hastings and of his younger brother, reconstructed from English sources] (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVIII. 3); Pierre Arnal, *Le Duc de Berwick en Languedoc, d'après des Documents Inédits*, I., concl. [Berwick, natural son of James II. and Arabella Churchill, and one of the Louis XIV.'s ablest marshals, describes his campaign of 1705 against the Protestants of the Cevennes, in letters to the Marquis de Puysieulx, French ambassador to the Swiss cantons] (Nouvelle Revue, September 15, October 1); Albert Mathiez, *La Révolution et la Théorie de la Dictature*, first article [Social revolutions require use of force, distinction in famous pamphlet of Abbé Sieyès between laws by constituted powers and constitutional laws which are decisions of the general will] (Revue Historique for July); Pierre Caron, *Danton et Guillaume* [a clever piece of criticism, affecting the statements of certain well-known historians] (Révolution Française, September); Col. Daupeyroux, *La Curieuse Vie de l'Abbé de Pradt* [Parallels and contrasts between his career and that of his more famous contemporary, Talleyrand] (Revue des Études Historiques, July); H. Chobaut, *La Foire de Beaucaire de 1789 à 1796* [Though damaged by the Girondist provincial revolt, the Terror, war and the depreciation of the currency, this important fair continued to exist; revolutionary legislation preserved its privileges; the maximum was only partially applied to its transactions] (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, July); J. Saintoyant, *La Représentation Coloniale pendant la Révolution* [irregular, because of party conflicts] (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, July); E. F. Gautier, *Le Phénomène*

Colonial de 1830 à 1930 au Village de Boufarik [a study of the growth of a typical Algerian village during the century of French occupation] (Revue de Paris, November 1); Hans Delbrück, *Poincarés Politik* [1912–1914] (Preussische Jahrbücher, October).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: W. J. Entwistle, *Some Recent Works on Spain and Portugal* (History, October).

The Business Historical Society and the Baker Library, through the generosity of Edward J. Frost, have received eighty-seven volumes of account books and business records of the Barberini and Sciarra-Colonna families of Rome pertaining to the years from 1618 to 1816. It will be remembered that the Barberinis owed their importance to the elevation of Maffeo Barberini to the Holy See as Urban VIII. The cardinals of the family had much to do with the financial administration of the church, with the Monte della Pietà and the Bank of Santo Spirito, the official bank of the Papal states. The volumes of the collection furnish material for a study of papal finances before the temporal power succumbed to Napoleonic domination. Other parts of the collection throw light upon the management of estates and feudal accounts. The documents are of uneven value. Some are mere jottings, lacking in definiteness, while others furnish precisely the information desired. As a whole the collection carries the story of Italian banking from the point where it was left by the Medici collection deposited two years ago at the Baker Library by H. Gordon Selfridge.

Ancients and moderns alike will find much instruction in the article on the "Repopulation of the Roman Campagna", by Roberto Almagià in the October *Geographical Review*. In sketching the vicissitudes of settlement in the Campagna he summarizes the studies of previous scholars on the character of the malaria which has afflicted the region, believing that it has passed through periods of virulence and attenuation. The theme of the article is the schemes of reclamation initiated after Rome became the capital of a United Italy, which have at length become so successful that the traditional reputation of the region is likely to vanish before another generation passes.

In its series of Hispanic Notes and Monographs the Hispanic Society of America has issued an illustrated *Catalogue of Paintings, 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries* (New York) which belongs to its collection. The editor is Elizabeth Du Gué Trapier, who has provided an informing introduction, reference lists for Spanish painters of the period, especially those represented in the collection. In another publication, *List of Books Printed before 1601,* in its Library, compiled by Clara Louise Pinney (New York), the Society has made a useful contribution to the bibliography of early printed books. It has also published three manuscripts in its collection: B 13, *Privilegio Rodado,* granted by Alfonso X.

of Castile; B 8, a similar charter, by Henry II. of Castile; and B 1, a conveyance of property by Alfonso Garcia, dated September 9, 1426, each carefully edited, with notes, by A. D. Savage (New York, 1928).

José Deleito y Piñuela, professor at the University of Valencia, is making an important contribution to the social history of his country in a work on *La España de Felipe IV.*, vol. I. of which, *El Declinar de la Monarquia Española*, after discussing the character and policy of the king, Olivares and Luis de Haro, reconstructs the life of the soldiers and sailors of the time from contemporary documents (Madrid, Voluntad, 1928, pp. 301).

Professor Edgar Prestage in his brief but authoritative account of *Afonso de Albuquerque* (Watford, Voss and Michael, 5 s.) draws fully from Albuquerque's letters written during the last nine years of his life, in which the great empire builder described the obstacles which men and methods strewed in his paths of conquest. In one he says that the factors do not know how "to trade or buy and sell and make a profit; they all spread their sails to their own advantages".

Other books in this field are: G. T. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le Commerce Génois dans le Mer Noire au XIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Geuthner); Herbert Bastgen, *Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchenpolitik Gregors XVI.*, Tl. I. (Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 40 M.); François Perroux, *Contribution à l'Étude de l'Économie et des Finances Publiques de l'Italie depuis la Guerre* (Paris, Giard, 50 fr.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Adolfo Angeli, *Carrara nel Medioevo; Statuti ed Ordinamenti* (Statuti di Carrara e di Onzo; Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, LIV., fasc. II.); Ettore Veo, *Roma nell' Anno 1829 Attraverso il Diario Inedito di Don Agostino Chigi*, I., II. (Nuova Antologia, September 1, October 1); Marcus De Rubris, *Un Nostro Ex-Primo Ministro Pittora a Londra*, I., concl. [Massimo D'Azeglio], (Nuova Antologia, August 1, 16); Leopold von Schlözer, *Karl III. von Spanien* (Preussische Jahrbücher, June).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The recent death of the aged Prussian historian, Hans Delbrück, gives special pertinence to the completion of his *Weltgeschichte*, Part 5, covering the period from 1852 to 1888 (Berlin, Stollberg, 1928, pp. 594), though he had hoped to carry the work through the World War; also to a festival volume, *Am Webstuhl der Zeit*, edited by Emil Daniels and Paul Rühlmann for his eightieth birthday (there are studies by General Buchfink and by O. Haintz on Delbrück's teaching regarding the strategy of the World War and of Charles XII. respectively, by Fr. Meinecke on the Anglo-German conversations of 1901, by G. Roloff on Russian mobilization, by O. Becker on the supposed opposition between Bismarck's and William II.'s foreign policies, etc. (Berlin, Hobbing, 1928, pp. 159). Mention may be made likewise of *Hans Delbrück, der Historiker und Politiker* by Ferdinand Jakob Schmidt, Konrad Molinski and Siegfried Mette (Berlin, Stollberg, 1928, pp. 189).

The excellent custom of producing bibliographies of local state history, for which those of Württemberg, Saxony, Silesia and others have blazed the way, has been followed by the Baden Historical Commission, which now issues the first part of vol. I. of a *Bibliographie der Badischen Geschichte,* prepared by Friedrich Lautenschlager (Karlsruhe, Verlag der Bad. Hist. Kom., pp. xvi, 331).

The new edition of the works of Frederick the Great, under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, has reached vol. XLI., *Politische Correspondenz, neue Reihe: vom Bayrischen Erbfolgerkriege bis zum Tode Friedrichs des Grossen, Mai–Oktober 1778,* edited by Dr. Gustav Berthold Volz (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer).

Professor Franz Schnabel's *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert,* of which the first volume on *Die Grundlagen* has been published (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, pp. xi, 628, 16.50 M.), is the first attempt since Treitschke to deal comprehensively with the whole period. There are to be two other volumes.

The *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern,* vol. XXX., pt. 1, includes an instructive presentation of the Verfassungsgeschichte der Berner Landstädte nach den Fontes Rerum Berensium by Dr. Oskar Däppen. It happens that the Fontes are available only for the period 1200–1378, but shortly after the latter date these towns passed under the control of Bern and so their constitutional history lost significance. The author discusses incidentally other phases of their development, social and economic, up to that time.

Professor H. von Srbik, of the University of Vienna, author of *Metternich, der Staatsmann und der Mensch,* has accepted the post of Minister of Education in the Schober cabinet. Professor A. F. Pribram, of the same university, has recently lectured at Oxford on British foreign policy.

It is impossible to understand the operation of the contacts between European and native civilizations in the colonial field without knowing native law and custom. The Germans began as long ago as 1907 the collection of this information for their colonies, sending a questionnaire to government stations and missions. Publication has begun of this *Eingeborenenrecht* under the general editorship of E. Schultz-Ewerth and L. Adam, and the first volume on *Ostafrika* has been edited by B. Ankermann (Stuttgart, Strecker and Schroder, 18 M.). All branches of law are included, crime, slavery, property, family, marriage. A second volume is to deal with the remainder of the German colonies whether in Africa or in the Pacific area.

Other books in this field: Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio, Studien und Texte zur Geschichte d. röm. Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende d. Karoling. Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit,* Tl. i, 2 (Leipzig, Teubner, 14 M.); Otto Flake, *Ulrich von Hutten* (Berlin, S. Fisher, 9 M.); *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg,* Hrsg. von d. preuss. Kommission bei d. preuss. Acad. d. Wissenschaften. Bd. 23. *Auswärtige Acten,* Bd. 5, Tl. i. (Berlin, W. de Gruyter, 42 M.); Ludwig Scheuermann, *Die Fugger als Montanindustrielle in Tirol und Kärnten, ein Beitr. zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte d. 16 u. 17 Jh.* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 24 M.); Ludwig Käss, *Die Organisation der allgemeinen Staatsverwaltung auf dem linken Rheinufer durch die Franzosen während die Besetzung 1792 bis zum Frieden von Lunéville* (Mainz, J. Diemer, 5.60 M.); Erwin Schell, *Die Reichsstädte beim Übergang an Baden* (Heidelberg, Karl Winter, 10 M.); Karl Dieterich, *Deutsche Philhellenen im Griechenland, 1821–1822, Auswahl aus ihren Tagebüchern* (Hamburg, Friederichsen, de Gruyter, 2.40 M.); Wilhelm Schüssler, *Bismarcks Kampf um Suddeutschland, 1867* (Berlin, Stilke, 10 M.); Heinrich Eduard Brockhaus, *Stunden mit Bismarck, 1871–1878,* hrsg. von Hermann Michel (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus); Albert von Puttkamer, *Staatsminister von Puttkamer, Ein Stück preussischer Vergangenheit, 1828 bis 1900* (Leipzig, J. Koehler, 8.50 M.); Hermann Stegemann, *Erinnerungen aus meinen Leben und aus meinen Zeit* (Stuttgart, Verlags-Anstalt, 15 M.); Paul Leutwein, *Afrikanischerschicksal, Gouverneur Leutwein und seine Zeit* (Stuttgart, Union, 6 M.); Edgar Stern-Rubarth, *Graf Brockdorff-Rantzau, Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin, R. Habbing, 6 M.); Leopold von Chlumecky, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinands Wirken und Wollen* (Berlin, Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 8 M.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Otto Clemen, *Das Lateinische Original von Luthers "Vater-Unser Vorwärts und Rückwärts" vom Jahre 1516* [the article contains also an inventory of certain manuscripts in the ducal library at Gotha, a sermon by Bartholomäus Krause (1523) with marginal notes probably by Luther and a letter from Ulrich, duke of Württemberg, to Bernhard of Hirschfeld (1524)] (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVIII. 2); Robert Wild, *Lieber, Körner, Schurz, Drei Grosse Deutschamerikaner* (Preussische Jahrbücher, July); Johann Sass, *Hermann von Thile und Bismarck, mit Unveröffentlichten Briefen Thiles* [1863–1873] (Preussische Jahrbücher, September); P. Louis Rivière, *L'Allemagne au Maroc* [provocative action of Germany in 1905, 1909, and 1911 continued until 1918] (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July–September).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

M. Floris Prims, of whose erudite *Histoire d'Anvers* only the first volume has been published, has further illustrated the history of his city by a second volume (in Flemish) of *Antwerpensia* (pp. 388) containing some fifty valuable articles on the history and archaeology of Antwerp and the surrounding country in the thirteenth century.

The first *Bulletin* of vol. XCIII. of the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire includes the text of a will of Guillaume de Varenacker, 1478, treasurer of the 'collégiale' Saint-Pierre of Louvain, which illustrates the practice of men of that period in investing a part of their savings in silver, cups, goblets, vases, etc. It testifies also to the attachment this priest bore to the land of his birth.

In a recent historical exposition in the Netherlands, besides tapestries, miniatures, portraits, and many other interesting relics, were displayed bills of exchange dating from the thirteenth century and early price lists. There were also national sections, representing typical developments of economic life, medieval banks for Italy, the Hansa and the Fuggers for Germany, and the industrial revolution for England. This was under the auspices of the Netherland Archives for Economic History.

The application of the French régime after the Revolution in the annexed provinces in Belgium and on the Rhine is a subject of such interest that the publication of a new collection of documents is welcome. The Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire has issued the first volume of the *Correspondance de Bouteville* who was "commissaire général" in the "départements-réunis" of Belgium from Dec. 21, 1795, to Feb. 15, 1797. The editor is Eugène Hubert (Brussels, Lamertin).

In the *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* VIII. 53-91, H. Van Werveke reviews the rôle of the Flemish and Lotharingian abbeys from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries as establishments of credit. It appears that they found it profitable to lend to needy nobles and princes upon mortgages of estates usually for periods of three to twelve years.

NORTHERN EUROPE

General review: G. Gautier, *Histoire Ukrainienne de 1917 à 1928* (Revue Historique, September).

In *La Philosophie et la Problème National en Russie au Début du XIX^e^ Siècle* (Paris, Champion, pp. 213, Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Leningrad, t. X.) Alexandre Koyré studies the philosophical origins of the slavophil movement. He has investigated the teaching of philosophy in the Russian universities of Kazan, Kharkov, and St. Petersburg in the early nineteenth century and the contacts of the teachers with those who were to become slavophils. The group was small but its history significant because of the influence of the idea.

Otto Brandt, in the *Historische Zeitschrift,* CXL. 3, under the title of Das Problem der "Ruhe des Nordens" im 18. Jahrhundert, discusses the efforts to preserve or to reconstruct the Baltic balance of power after Sweden's overthrow in the Great Northern War. The initiative was with Denmark from 1721 to 1762, with Russia from 1762 to 1773, with Sweden from 1773 to the end of the century.

Nicola de Baumgarten in the *Nuova Antologia* for August 1 and September 1 begins his Ricordi della Rivoluzione Russa, 1917–1920, which are his personal recollections.

Articles of interest are: P. Desfeuilles, *Le Voyage en France de Christine, Reine de Suède en 1656,* and Comte Renaud Pozezdzecki, *Les Ambassades Moscovites en Pologne* [sixteenth and seventeenth centuries] (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 3); Ferdinando Nunziante, *Gli Italiani in Russia durante il Secolo XVIII.* (Nuova Antologia, July 16); Count W. N. Kokovtzoff, *La Vérité sur la Tragédie d'Ekaterinbourg,* I., concl. [from narratives of eye-witnesses] (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1, 15).

THE NEAR EAST

Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs,* has added another illuminating volume on the Balkan situation, made up chiefly of articles published within a year or two, the record of observations made on the spot. The title is *Where the East Begins* (New York, Harpers, pp. xviii, 139, $3.00), a place which, as he tells us in his diverting introduction, ever eluded his search, although the Italian said it was at Zagreb, the Croat pointed towards Belgrade, the Serb towards Sofia, and the Bulgar was sure that it was in Constantinople. The author finds that while the generous hopes of the victorious Allies have not been realized there are signs of a reaction against exaggerated nationalism and the beginnings of a desire to live and let live.

Light is thrown upon *L'Albania,* by Professor Antonio Baldacci (Rome, Instituto per l'Europe Orientale, 80 l.), especially through his explanations of the tribal system which stabilized the country in 1912 when the Turkish administration collapsed. The author regards the frontier settlement as unreasonable, estimating the number of Albanians left in Yugoslavia as 700,000, about 300,000 more than that admitted by Yugoslav statistics. As these Albanians are mostly Mohammedans they are assimilated less easily than the Orthodox Albanians within the Greek frontiers.

Professor Arthur I. Andrews contributed to *Roumania* for April last an article on Historical Impressions of Roumania, a series of reflections on the historical aspects of the problem presented by the annexation of Transylvania. With it should read the corrections, printed at his request in the July number, because three or four sentences in their published form materially changed his meaning. He felt that although the attitude of the Roumanians in the minority question, for example, was historically explicable, it could not as yet be regarded as ideal.

A new and revised edition of Nicolas Stanev's *Histoire de la Bulgarie Nouvelle* (Bulgaria since the Congress of Berlin) in two volumes has just appeared in Sofia.

A book of interest is, St. N. Chichkov, *La Thrace pendant la Guerre de Libération de 1877–1878* (Sofia).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Josef Pfitzner, *Heinrich Luden und František Palacký; ein Kapitel Deutsch-Slavischer Kulturbeziehungen* [influence of the Jena historian on the greatest of Czech historians] (Historische Zeitschrift, CXLI. 1); A. Ullein, *Les Grandes Étapes de l'Évolution Constitutionelle de la Hongrie* [theory of the "Holy Hungarian Crown" regards king and nation as a single unity, repository of sovereign power and jointly exercising it; development of theory in practice traced from thirteenth to nineteenth centuries] (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLVII.); Clarence B. Manning, *Bulgaria and World Civilization* (Bulgarian-British Review, pt. 9; Tsv. Radoslav, *Les Titres des Rois Bulgares* [various titles assumed by the Bulgarian monarchs] (Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare, vol. V., 1928–1929, 259 "figures" and 6 plates).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The *Bulletin* of the American Schools of Oriental Research for October records the observations of Professor W. F. Albright, former Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, during the trip last spring in Palestine to discover new Israelite and pre-Israelite sites. The expedition found some curious confirmation of the route taken by the "Kings of the East" mentioned in the much-discussed Genesis 14.

Students of British land revenue in India under Cornwallis and his successors will find much enlightenment in W. H. Moreland's *Agrarian System of Moslem India* (Cambridge, Heffer, 15 s.). The writer comes to the subject after presenting works on other phases of Mogul administration. He goes back to the year 1300 when the first important precedents were established. The history of enlightened despotism appears to be the same everywhere, whatever the complexion of the despot, for the Moslem rulers waged a losing fight against the peculations and oppressions of their agents.

Now that the French have, as a result of the second Moroccan crisis and the World War, added immense areas of great value to their colonial empire they are turning with renewed interest to the study of their colonial history. Georges Maspero is editing a series of volumes in folio on Indo-China, elaborately illustrated, of which the first is entitled *Le Pays et ses Habitants, l'Histoire, la Vie sociale* (Paris and Brussels, G. Van Oest). The contributors to this volume know Indo-China from personal observation as well as from their studies. Among them is the geographer Jean Brunhes. Another writer formerly an officer of M. de Brazza in the French Congo, J. Santoyant, has written two volumes on *La Colonisation Française sous l'Ancien Régime, du XV^e^ Siècle à 1789* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 70 fr.).

Dr. Chang Hsin-hai, formerly professor of English literature in the Peiping National University and a well-known contributor to Western journals, has an article in the Chinese *Social and Political Science Review* for July, entitled, Some Types of Chinese Historical Thought. The paper is reproduced under the same title in the 1929 issue of the *Journal* of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai. Estimating that no fewer than two hundred thousand works of an historical nature have appeared in China since the beginning of our era, Dr. Chang attempts in this article to outline the conditions under which this unparalleled mass of historical literature arose. He traces the development of historical writing from the abbreviated annals of which the "Spring and Autumn" (770–481 B.C.) is the accepted type, through the official dynastic histories, and down to the private histories of more recent times. The beginning of genuine historical writing in China is signalized, in the opinion of Dr. Chang, by the compilation of the *Tso Chuan* (fifth century B.C.) and Ssu-ma Ch'ien's great *General History* (122 B.C.). The qualifications of Ssu-ma Ch'ien as an historian, his method of work, and the scope and magnitude of the *General History* as the model of all the twenty-five dynastic histories, are here briefly set down. Dr. Chang then comments on two great historical critics of Chinese antiquity: Liu Chih-chi (661–721 A.D.) and Cheng Ch'iao (1104–1162 A.D.). The *Shih T'ung*, or *Critique of History*, written by Liu Chih-chi, analyzes in detail the inadequacies of Chinese historical method prior to his day, while Cheng Ch'iao, author of the Er-shih Lüeh, or *Twenty Sketches*, attempted, both by his criticisms and by his own historical writings, to relate history-making to the facts of existence as derived from personal observation and experience. The paper is a good general introduction to the scope and the method of Chinese historians. A. W. H.

As a complement of his *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient* René Grousset is to publish four volumes, elaborately illustrated, with the title of the *Civilisations de l'Orient* (Paris, G. Crès, 400 fr.). Vol. I. appeared in November and dealt with the earliest civilized peoples, including the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Persians. The other volumes are to deal with India, China, and Japan. This work is intended for a wider circle of readers than its more technical predecessor.

Another sumptuous work on the *History of Chinese Art* has been commenced by Osvald Sirén with a first volume on the *Prehistoric and Pre-Ham Periods* (London, Benn, pp. 75, plates 108, £3 13 s. 6 d.). It includes descriptions of material which has been recently discovered. Most of the objects illustrated are from the Asiatic collection at Stockholm, but these are supplemented by others, existing in public and private collections in Europe, America, and even in Asia.

Under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and in anticipation of the biennial conference last fall of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Sir Harold Parlett prepared a *Brief Account of Diplomatic Events in Manchuria* (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 93, map, $1.25). After a few paragraphs on the geography of Manchuria and its history prior to the close of the Chinese-Japanese war of

1894–1895, the author outlines with precision the development of the situation and especially the treaties and agreements which lie at the basis of the present situation. He gives more emphasis to John Hay's 'open door' negotiations than is usual with English or Continental writers. He finds no direct evidence that the Japanese have not lived up to their pledges to maintain the 'open door', but says "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that her general policy in Manchuria in the past has been directed towards the creation of a monopolistic sphere", and adds, apropos of Chinese aspirations, "Japan will not leave Manchuria of her own free will. That is clear". One of the most enlightening sections of the book deals with railroads in being or to be.

Addresses given by Minister Chao-Chu Wu at Williamstown in August, 1928, on the *Nationalist Program for China* have been published by the Yale University Press (New Haven, pp. iv, 112, $1.50). His interpretation is entitled to weight because he is a member of the central executive committee of the Kuomintang. He explains that it is the party's intention to restore two features of the old system of government, examinations and censorship. This is not censorship in the western sense of the term, but fearless criticism of public acts, which was on occasion directed even against the Emperor himself. Both features are embodied in the new fundamental law, which is printed as appendix 2, for a Board of Examiners and a Board of Control are two of the five governing boards. Minister Wu furthermore contends that nationalism in the Chinese sense is not anti-foreign or militaristic, it is simply the determination to recover complete national independence. He finds the situation in Manchuria anomalous, but doubtless is aware that the Japanese will neither be moved nor removed by abstract considerations.

Another volume of Berkshire Studies (see page 398) deals with the problems of the Pacific. It is *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Far East,* by David Edward Owen, of Yale University (New York, Holt, pp. 128, $.85). After a preliminary description of the older civilization of China and Japan, the narrative opens with the trade problem at Canton and the Opium War. The treatment is direct and fair, with no effort to champion causes or distribute harsh criticism. It successfully meets the purpose which the series serves.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are the following: a large and important collection of early manuscripts of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, added by Mr. Edward S. Harkness to his previous munificent gift of such documents; photostats of eight letters from Sir Edwin Sandys, John Rolph, Sir George Yeardley, and others, 1617–1623, from the Ferrar Papers, Pepysian Library, Cambridge, England; a large mass of photostats and transcripts relating to Spanish Florida, accumulated by the late Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor; log-books of the schooner *Yarmouth*, 1767–1768; the sloop *Hero*, 1821–1823; the schooner *Penguin*, 1827–1833; and the ship *Southerner*, 1841–1843; three papers by William Smith of Charleston, South Carolina, 1788; photostat of the register of William and Mary Parish, St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1798–1918; six papers by or relating to Henry Clay (mainly his duel with Humphrey Marshall), 1809 and 1848; photostats of two letters from Andrew Jackson to Richard K. Call, 1826 and 1827; manuscript by Roger B. Taney, on the United States Bank and Jackson's removal of the deposits; papers of Peter Cooper and Cooper and Hewitt, on iron manufacture at Ringwood, N. J., mainly 1842–1900; volume of morning reports of Captain A. C. Swindler, Company G of 12th Regiment of Virginia Cavalry, Jones's Brigade, Army of Confederate States, May, 1862–March, 1863; copy of letter of Secretary John P. Usher, April 16, 1865; forty-two letters of Benjamin Harrison to Hon. Robert S. Taylor; papers of William Edmond Curtis, 1885–1900; papers of the National Board for Historical Service, 1917–1919; papers of Secretaries Philander C. Knox and Elihu Root; also, many thousands of photostats or other photographic reproductions of documents for American history in the archives and the libraries of England, France, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria. The annual *Report* of the Librarian, issued in December, presents a detailed statement of acquisitions of this last sort made during the past year.

At the instance of the American Council of Learned Societies, the General Education Board has made an appropriation to the Library of Congress for the making of a much-needed union catalogue of all the classical and medieval manuscripts that are to be found in the libraries or other collections of the United States and Canada. The work, which is to be completed within three years, under the general supervision of the chief of the Division of Manuscripts, has been placed under the competent direction of Mr. Seymour de Ricci of Paris, who expects to spend some months in America for this purpose during each of the three years. Dr. William J. Wilson has been engaged as executive secretary of the enterprise, to labor upon it continuously at the Library of Congress. All persons having a knowledge of classical and medieval manuscripts in the United States and Canada are requested to communicate with him.

Volumes XXVI. and XXVII. of the *Journals of the Continental Congress* in the Library of Congress edition (pp. vi, 1–364, 365–765), prepared by the late Dr. Gaillard Hunt, have lately been issued by the Government Printing Office. They contain the journals of Congress and of the Committee of States for the year 1784. The manuscript was sent to the printer by Dr. Hunt, before his death in March, 1924. The final page-proofs of the index went to the printing office in November, 1928, and the title-pages bear 1928 as date of imprint, but the volumes were actually issued late in October, 1929.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1928 (XXXVIII. 2), shows a gratifying exhibit of increased financial resources, and presents: an interesting body of letters of an Overland Mail agent in Utah, 1861–1866, edited by Professor Archer B. Hulbert, material unique perhaps and illustrating early days of the Mormon community and many other aspects of Western history; a thoroughgoing history by Wilberforce Eames of the press which Franklin sent out to Antigua in 1748 in care of his nephew, Benjamin Mecom, and of all the known items printed upon it, in Antigua, Boston, New York, or Burlington; and some correspondence of Franklin with John Walter of the *Times* regarding the logographic process of printing, this last presented by Dr. George S. Eddy.

The Washington Society of Alexandria, which was organized just one month after the death of Washington and functioned for nearly half a century, was, on January 14, 1928, reorganized in the same Gadsby's Tavern which was the scene of the original organization on January 14, 1800. The original aim of the society was to perpetuate the name and fame of Washington and to further the principles of civic virtue for which he was distinguished. The revived society, which has adopted for the most part the original constitution and rules, assumes the further purposes of aiding in the preservation of historical places in the region in which Washington lived and in the dissemination of historical information pertaining to his time. In pursuance of the latter purpose the society has issued, as *Bulletin*, no. 1, *The George Washington Scandals,* by Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick. The paper was originally printed in *Scribner's* magazine, but as here republished has some important additions.

Two bulletins of unusual interest for the study of Indian culture have been issued by the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution: no. 88, entitled *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians,* by John R. Swanton, and no. 90, *Papago Music,* by Frances Densmore. The material for the first has been obtained from representatives of the Creeks, Natchez, and other tribes, in scattered homes as far west as Oklahoma and Texas. The Papagos live in Sonora, Mexico, and southern Arizona. Each of the songs recorded is accompanied by an interpretive analysis. The largest group of songs is connected with the treatment of the sick, rather than with warfare. Like certain of their more civilized contemporaries, the Papagos believed that many illnesses had psychic causes, the magic of bad medicine men, as they expressed it, and might be cured by good medicine in the form of healing songs.

Volume IV. of the Norwegian-American Historical Association's *Studies and Records* contains eight articles, the chief of which relate to the causes of Scandinavian immigration, the character of the immigrants, their reaction to their new environment, and their influence upon American life. One of these, by Karen Larsen, is a study of the Adjustment of a Pioneer Pastor, Laur. Larsen, to American conditions (1857–1880);

another is a discourse, by George M. Stephenson, upon the Mind of the Scandinavian Immigrant; another, by Dr. Joseph Schafer, is entitled Immigration and Social Amelioration; and a fourth is the Report of the Annual Meeting of the Haugean Churches held in Lisbon, Illinois, in June, 1854, a reprint of the original pamphlet, with an introduction, English translation, and notes by Professor J. Magnus Rohne. Other articles, less directly concerned with these principal themes but illustrative of conditions, are: an Account of a Journey to California in 1852, by Tosten Kittelsen Stabaek, translated by Einar J. Haugen; a letter describing the Sinking of the *Atlantic* on Lake Erie in 1852, translated and edited by Henrietta Larson; and three letters written by an unidentified Norwegian soldier in the Northern army in 1862, translated and edited by Brynjolf J. Hovde. A bit of diplomatic history is related by H. Fred Swansen in a paper entitled the Attitude of the United States toward Norway in the Crisis of 1905.

A revised edition of the late John Spencer Bassett's *Short History of the United States, 1492–1929* (New York, Macmillan, $4.00), includes an additional chapter by Allan Nevins, bringing the narrative to the close of the election of 1928. In spite of the painful scandals of the Harding administration, which came to light only after his death, the main impression conveyed by the new chapter is one of considerable constructive achievement, legislation on railways, shipping, immigration, and agriculture, and of progress in international relations, the Washington Conference, the Kellogg treaty, and the Nicaragua settlement. The publishers are also issuing the work in three volumes.

In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for October Laura A. White describes an important phase of pre-Civil War politics with the title of the National Democrats in South Carolina, 1852–1860. She shows that the triumph of the movement for secession in that pivotal state was by no means a foregone conclusion. Another article, by James D. Hill, recounts an episode of commerce-destroying during the war itself. The title, Charles W. Read, Confederate Von Luckner, shows how far we have moved from the mental attitudes characteristic of the World War, when sinking merchant vessels at sea, even when the crews were cared for, seemed hardly heroic. Wallace E. Caldwell attempts a reinterpretation of the Age of Pericles, protesting, for example, against the prevalent idea that it was a leisure based on slavery that enabled Athenians to reach such heights of intellectual achievement. He believes that the main reason was the variety of contacts which the position of Athens in the fifth century made an almost everyday experience.

The historical student may well reflect upon Norman Foerster's observations on the *American Scholar, a Study in 'Litterae Inhumaniores'* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, pp. 67, $1.00). The author deprecates the tendency to resolve the study of literature into minor exercises in historical research. He recognizes the light which comes from the investigation of the background or setting of any form of literature, but suggests that if this is carried too far all sense of artistic values is lost. He also recalls the fact that the American Historical Association through a committee and its little volume on the *Writing of History* has protested against similar misconceptions of true historical scholarship. The late Professor Aulard often told his students that the passion for the *inédit* could be carried too far; much may best be left *inédit*.

In the *Other Side of Government* (New York, Scribners, pp. 285, $2.00), David Lawrence, the well-known journalist and editor of the *United States Daily*, runs a cross-section through the development of governmental functions, with the problems to which they relate. Every question imaginable from the President's Power to Muscle Shoals is described, with brief sketches of the way historically these things came to be.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Walter Hough, *The Development of Agriculture* (Scientific Monthly, October); Florian Cajori, *New Data on the Origin and Spread of the Dollar Mark* (*ibid.*); Wilbur C. Abbott, *New Methods of Writing History: a Criticism* (Current History, October); William E. Dodd, *The Passing of the Old United States* (Century, Autumn); J. A. Aiken, *The South's Lost Leadership* (Virginia Quarterly Review, October); C. Williamson, *The Ethics of Historic Truth* (International Journal of Ethics, October).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

When the novelist turns biographer, one is doubtful whether to be interested chiefly in the play of the imagination about the attitudes and actions of the hero or to note more carefully the historical interpretation —in this case, of a minor figure of the Revolutionary struggle; in other words, to ask if Thomas Boyd's *Mad Anthony Wayne* (New York, Scribner's, 1929, pp. 351, $3.50) is just another novel of the early frontiers to be read after *Long Knives*? It is natural that the author should be interested in Wayne, for he came from that part of Ohio which owed so much to the victory of Fallen Timber and the Treaty of Greenville. His book is opportune as only a few months ago through the efforts of the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society a monument was erected on the battlefield. Occasionally his impulses as a novelist seem to make him forget that he is a biographer. His descriptions are better when they are more restrained, for example, in the account of the Mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line.

The October number of the *Journal of Negro History* is chiefly occupied by a monograph on Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature, by Lorenzo Dow Turner. The subject is examined under five periods, each period having its own distinctive characteristics. Prior to 1831 anti-slavery sentiment appeared in Southern as well as in Northern literature. In the section of Documents are reprints of an anti-slavery essay by John Trumbull and an anti-slavery story by Louisa M. Alcott.

Harry E. Pratt, of the University of Illinois, who is engaged upon a life of Judge David Davis (1815–1886), desires to learn of letters written by him at any period of his life.

The essay of Alexander J. Wall, Librarian of the New York Historical Society, on the Administration of Governor Horatio Seymour during the War of the Rebellion and the draft riots in New York City, July 13–17, 1863, printed in the Society's *Quarterly Bulletin* for October, 1928, has now been published in a volume of 119 pages, including additions which give an account of Governor Seymour's ancestry and early training. At the close is a list of his Addresses, Speeches, and Writings. The volume is privately printed by his niece Helen Lincklaen (Mrs. Charles S.) Fairchild.

William Roscoe Thayer's *Life and Letters of John Hay,* originally published in 1915 in two volumes (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXI. 831), has now been reissued under a single cover (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, $5.00).

Two lectures delivered by Charles Evans Hughes last March at the Yale School of Law have been published by the Yale University Press (New Haven, pp. 68, $1.00). The fundamental idea in both is that no renunciation of war as an instrument of policy can be effective unless, as a form of preventive medicine, definite methods are provided for the application of remedies to international ills. The aim of the two lectures is to explain the conditions of the problem approached in the Havana resolution of the sixth Pan American Conference in 1928 and the solution offered in the general treaty of inter-American arbitration negotiated at Washington in the December following.

The *History of the Dennison Manufacturing Company,* by E. P. Hayes and Charlotte Heath (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, pp. 202), is made up of articles in the August and November numbers of the *Journal of Economic and Business History.* It is a fascinating story, and interest does not center so much upon the distribution of stock dividends as upon the ever varying problem of meeting industrial needs with suitable products and of effecting an organization combining good leadership and eager coöperation. On page 192 there is a curious diagram, two curves showing that the Dennison sales corresponded very closely to the general business situation as indicated by bank clearings outside New York City.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. C. Baxter, *How America got its Name* [Argues possibility that name was for Richard Ameryk, senior collector of Bristol, who had a hand in giving Cabot his pension] (Dalhousie Review, October); Archibald Henderson, *Transylvania* ["a Story of the Bold and almost Successful Attempt to Found the Fourteenth

Colony"] (Century, Autumn); John Corbin, *Washington and the American Union* (Scribner's, November); Carnes Weeks, *David Ramsay: Physician, Patriot, Statesman* [Dr. David Ramsay (1749–1815), member of Continental Congress, acting president, author of historical works] (Annals of Medical History, September); E. H. Pool and F. J. McGowan, *Surgery at the New York Hospital One Hundred Years Ago* (*ibid.*); Commander W. L. Mann, U.S.N., *The Origin and Early Development of Naval Medicine* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, September); Eva Swantner, *Military Railroads during the Civil War* (Military Engineer, December); *A Diplomatic Incident: When Washington Closed our Vatican Ministry* [Correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Minister to the Vatican, 1867] (Atlantic Monthly, October); J. J. Jusserand, *Armistice Day and the American Battlefields* (National Geographic Magazine, November); Silas Bent, *Will Democrats follow the Whigs?* (Scribner's Magazine, November); Le Baron R. Briggs, *As Seen by a Disciple: President Eliot* (Atlantic Monthly, November).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The *New England Quarterly* for October has an illuminating discussion of the Second Colonization of New England by Professor Marcus L. Hansen, who suggests that the colonial period may appropriately be said to have ended in 1914 instead of in 1776. From this point of view he describes the resettlement of New England by Irish immigrants, especially after the famine years of the 'forties, and later by French Canadians and Portuguese. Incidentally he points out that industrial leaders gave a cold shoulder to migrating English factory workers who became a valued element in the Mississippi Valley. The *Quarterly* also publishes a paper on Ethan Allen, an Interpretation, read by Professor Clarence W. Rife at the Indianapolis meeting of the Association. John Pell, the author of a biography of Allen, contributes an article on Ethan Allen's Literary Career.

Among the contents of the October number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* are Extracts from the Diary of Moses Davis, J. P., of Edgecomb, Maine, 1775–1823, compiled by William Davis Patterson.

The principal article, other than continuations, in the October number of the *Historical Collections* of the Essex Institute is on the Public Service of John Endecott in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, by William D. Chapple.

As the official *Journal* of the Rhode Island Convention of 1790, which failed to adopt the new Federal Constitution is incomplete, the Rhode Island Historical Society has wisely published *Theodore Foster's Minutes of the Convention,* transcribed with annotations and an introduction by

Robert C. Cotner, and a foreword by Professor Verner W. Crane (Providence, printed for the Society, pp. 99). The Foster "Minutes" were unofficial but contain entries throwing light upon certain issues which were uppermost in Rhode Island and upon which the Journal was silent. The editor has traced the manuscript of the "Minutes" to Foster and has provided a substantial commentary in his introduction.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for November contains part I. of a list of Acts of French Royal Administration concerning Canada, Guiana, the West Indies, and Louisiana prior to 1791, compiled by Lawrence C. Wroth and Gertrude L. Annan upon the basis of Worthington C. Ford's French Royal Edicts, etc., on America, published in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1927). Mr. Frank Weitenkampf, chief of the prints division of the library, contributes an article on the Spencer Collection of illustrated books and particularly concerning the Malermi Bible.

The October number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains, besides other articles, the Federal Census of 1800 for Richmond County, New York, and the concluding installment of the Minutes of the Committee of Safety of the Manor of Livingston, Columbia County, New York, in 1776, contributed by Kate S. Curry.

Several of the articles in the October number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society deal with phases of Revolutionary history in New Jersey: the battle of Springfield, by Hon. James C. Connolly, the Toms River Block House Fight (March 24, 1782), by William H. Fischer, and Philip Freneau, Jersey Patriot and Poet of the Revolution, by J. Owen Grundy. There is also an article, by Bryan Hamilton, giving a history of the Conestoga wagon.

In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October, Wayland Fuller Dunaway brings together evidence showing that a greater number of Huguenots and other French refugees settled in Pennsylvania than has previously been supposed. He estimates that by the time of the first census there were seven or eight thousand people of French extraction in the state. One reason why the apparent number was smaller was the practice of Huguenots who came to America after a brief residence in the Palatinate of translating their names into German, Tonnelier, for example, being changed to Kiefer and Lapierre to Stein. Other names were simply respelled, like Capelle and Shappel, De La Cour and Delliker. Another article in the same number, by Ruth Y. Johnston, deals with American Privateers in French Ports, 1776–1778, based on material in Stevens's *Facsimiles* and other documentary collections.

In the October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, Margaret Elder tells the story of Pittsburgh Industries, and James A. Henderson writes his personal Reminiscences of the Rivers.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The *Maryland Colonization Tracts, 1632–1646*, is a reprint of Lawrence C. Wroth's contribution to *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam* (Yale University Press, pp. 17 ff.).

The September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has an article by Carl M. Frasure on Union Sentiment in Maryland, 1859–1861; an account of Baltimore's Centennial, 1829, reprinted from the *American* of August 8 and 10 of that year; the second part of Raphael Semmes's study of Aboriginal Maryland, 1608–1689; and the concluding installment of the Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis, a publication begun several years ago. Among the Unpublished Letters from the archives is one from Abraham Lincoln to Governor A. W. Bradford, November 2, 1863, respecting the test to be applied to voters in the forthcoming election.

The *Report* of the State Library Board of the Virginia State Library for the year ended June 30, 1929, embodying the report of the chairman of the board, Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, and that of the state Librarian, Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, points to the progress of the library in several particulars. One gratifying achievement mentioned is that the library building has been made "as nearly fireproof as the State Office Building or the Capitol". Among the projected publications, now in course of preparation, are a *Check-List of Virginia State Publications for 1928* (the *Check-List* for 1927 has been issued), and a bibliography of Virginia State documents for the period 1916–1925, supplementing the *Bibliography of Virginia*, part II., prepared by Dr. Earl G. Swem and published in 1917. Among the acquisitions have been photostatic copies of the Proceedings of the Committee of Safety of Caroline County, Virginia, 1774–1776, obtained from the Henry E. Huntington Library.

The October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has some notes by the editor on "Green Spring", formerly the home of Sir William Berkeley, Ludwells, and Lees; an installment of the autobiography of Rev. Robertson Gannaway (b. 1780), originally published at Hendersonville, North Carolina, in 1859; and continuations of the Letters of the Byrd Family, the Kenon Letters, etc.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* begins in the July number (continued in that of October) the publication of the Memoirs of the Life and Voyages of Doctor Philip Mazzei, translated by E. C. Branchi. The Memoirs, published at Lugano in 1845, have not hitherto appeared in an English translation, and it is only those portions that pertain to Mazzei's life in Virginia that are to appear in the *Quarterly*. An interesting paper in the July issue is the Economic Philosophy of John Taylor, by John Vincent Ford, being a chapter from the author's *John Taylor: a Study in American Social Philosophy*. The October number contains some materials pertaining to the history of Hollins College (with its antecedents, Roanoke Female Seminary, Valley

Union Seminary, Hollins Institute), with sketches and portraits of three men intimately associated with the institution's history, Charles Johnston (died 1833), Edward W. Johnston (elder brother of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston), and Charles L. Cocke (1820–1901).

In Virginia House, Richmond, the handsome building given to the Virginia Historical Society by Mr. and Mrs. Alexander W. Weddell, was held, in April and May, "An Exhibition of Contemporary Portraits of Personages associated with the Colony and Commonwealth of Virginia between the Years 1595 and 1830", pronounced the most valuable collection of historical portraits ever exhibited in America. The exhibition included the portrait of Queen Elizabeth given to the State of Virginia by Lady Astor and "the glorious collection of Washingtons, such a collection, it is thought, as has never before been gathered together". The portraits, more than one hundred and fifty in number, all originals, were assembled from many places, some of them from Europe. Fourteen were lent by William and Mary College, eleven from the Virginia State Library. The exhibition is delightfully described by Dr. W. G. Stanard in the July number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.*

The October number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains an article on the Historic Residences in Williamsburg, one by Charles A. Hoppin respecting the Seven Old Houses on the Wakefield Estate, and one by Donald B. Sanger on the Nullification Movement in Georgia, 1827 to 1829.

The chief accessions to the Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission during September–November, 1929, were: 252 pages of transcripts of North Carolina material in the British Public Record Office; 46 issues of the *North Carolina Spectator and Western Advertiser* (Rutherfordton), 1830–1831; and photostats of 835 issues of thirty North Carolina newspapers (1801–1839) in the Library of Congress which were not available in any North Carolina library.

Clarence Griffin of Spindale, North Carolina, county historian of Rutherford County and vice-president of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, has brought out a pamphlet entitled *The Bechtlers and Bechtler Coinage and Gold Mining in North Carolina, 1814–1830.* Rutherfordton, North Carolina, was the center of the gold-producing ore of the United States in the period prior to 1840, and the mint established there in 1831 by Christopher and Augustus Bechtler, father and son, German metal workers, was the source of a great part of the gold coin which during the next decade circulated in western North Carolina and adjacent regions.

The principal contents of the October number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* are: a survey of Democratic Newspapers and Campaign Literature in North Carolina, 1835–1861, by Clarence C. Norton; a paper entitled the Confederacy and King Cotton: a Study in Economic Coercion, by Frank L. Owsley; a View of the Carolinas in 1783, by

J. Fred Rippy, drawn from the *Diary of Francisco Miranda* (edited by W. S. Robertson, New York, the Hispanic Society, 1928); and a Miscellany from the Thomas Henderson Letter-Book, 1810–1811, contributed, with notes, by A. R. Newsome. The Miscellany includes a description of the town of Beaufort, an account of Chatham County Mines and Quarries, one of Liberty Hall Academy, and one of Newton Academy. The section of Historical Notes, edited by D. L. Corbitt, contains a variety of items reprinted from early newspapers, including an account of the arrival of Governor Tryon at Newbern, December, 1764, with the address of the corporation and the governor's response.

The April number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* contains a group of twenty-four documents relating to the financial phases of the Louisiana purchase, preceded by a general account, by J. E. Winston, of How the Louisiana Purchase was Financed, and an introductory account, by R. W. Colomb, of the papers themselves and the personalities involved. George C. H. Kernion contributes a biographical account of the Chevalier de Pradel, a French colonist in Louisiana during the eighteenth century, and Clem G. Hearsey a paper entitled the Vengeance of the Natchez, relating the story of the destruction by the Indians of the settlement at Natchez in November, 1729.

CENTRAL AND WESTERN STATES

In the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September, Professor Charles W. Ramsdell seeks to give a more complete answer to the questions involved in the "Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion". He finds instructive illustrations in the history of the plantation system in Texas where a definite barrier existed in the hilly, wooded region of the center of the state and the flat table-land beyond. Another interesting point is that Mexican labor has steadily pushed the negro out of south Texas, and in a measure out of south-central Texas. The economic advantage of this Mexican labor would have made itself felt even had emancipation not taken place. Professor Ramsdell applies the same principles of judgment to the regions farther west and north, and concludes that slavery had reached its greatest extension by 1860 and was bound to recede from that time in the face of economic forces. Other articles of value for the economic history of the United States are Frederick West Lander, Road-Builder, by E. Douglas Branch, research associate in the State Historical Society of Iowa, and the End of Open Range in Eastern Montana, by Professor Robert S. Fletcher.

On October 11, 1929, were unveiled at Henderson, Kentucky, six historical tablets depicting the outstanding deeds of the Transylvania Company, culminating in the founding of Henderson. An especial feature of the occasion was a paper by Dr. Archibald Henderson, relating the story of *The Transylvania Company and the Founding of Henderson, Kentucky*, which the Henderson County Historical Society has issued, with a foreword by Susan S. Towles.

The September number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society has a paper by Dr. Willard Rouse Jillson on the Founding of Harrodsburg; one by T. D. Clark on the Live Stock Trade between Kentucky and the South, 1840–1860; and a Log of Lafayette's Journey through Kentucky, 1824–1825.

Janet P. Shaw contributes to the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* a sketch of Francis Bosseron, a pioneer merchant and the mayor of Vincennes at intervals from September, 1777, to January, 1782, together with an account book of Bosseron, chiefly pertaining to the years 1778 and 1779, but with some entries of later dates. The account book affords valuable information concerning conditions in Vincennes at the time of its capture by George Rogers Clark and of the aid rendered Clark by Bosseron. The account book, which is printed in the original French, with an English translation, occupies some twenty-eight pages of the *Magazine*.

The Indiana Battle Flag Commission has embodied in a substantial volume, *Indiana Battle Flags and Organizations,* edited by David I. McCormick and Mindwell Crampton Wilson (Indianapolis, Battle Flag Commission), the "Record of Indiana Organizations in the Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars". It is interesting to follow the itinerary of particular regiments, especially during the Civil War. The volume also contains occasional letters from the soldiers at the front.

The *Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society during its Ninth Year* (1928) constitutes vol. VI., no. 3, of the *Indiana History Bulletin* (August). There are several papers, which were read before the society during the year, among them: one by Professor Christopher B. Coleman entitled Emphasis in the Work of Historical Societies; one by Otis E. Young on the Development of Public Education in Southwestern Indiana; a Narrative of Chickamauga and Chattanooga, by William G. Jaquess; and two papers, by Mrs. Edna B. Sanders and David H. Morgan, respectively, on General James Clifford Veatch (1819–1895).

Of Detroit Biographies by M. M. Quaife in the Burton Historical Collection *Leaflet* that in the September number is of Jehu Hay, associated with General Hamilton in the surrender of Vincennes and the object of George Rogers Clark's fierce excoriations. The November number of the *Leaflet* has an account, by Louise Rau, of Three Physicians of Old Detroit, Henry Lamarre *dit* Belisle, George Christian Anthon, and William Harffy.

The Autumn number of *Michigan History Magazine,* which is designated Teachers' Number, is devoted entirely to problems pertaining to the teaching and study of Michigan history and is in three parts. Part I. contains three articles, namely: the Teaching of Michigan History, by Claude S. Larzelere; the Study of Michigan History, by L. A. Chase; and Teaching State History in the High School, by R. M. Tryon. Part II., includes descriptive and historical accounts of such features as the state capitol, the state flag, the coat of arms, etc.; and part III. is devoted to questions pertaining to local history.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society offers a prize of $100 for the best essay on some subject of Michigan history, broadly interpreted, the manuscript to be sent to George N. Fuller, secretary, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, not later than Sept. 1.

The concluding volume (XXIX.) in the Wisconsin Constitutional series, *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society, will be ready for distribution early this year. Dr. Joseph Schafer's *Carl Schurz, Militant Liberal,* is in press. The *Pioneer and Political Reminiscences* of Hon. Nils P. Haugen, published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* has been issued as a book. The *Life of a Lumberman,* by John E. Nelligan (in collaboration with Charles M. Sheridan), part of which was printed in the September number of the *Magazine,* has also been published in book form.

The September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains the remarks of President Glenn Frank, entitled Carl Schurz: 1829–1929, delivered at the Carl Schurz Centenary Memorial Convocation at the University of Wisconsin, March 3, 1929; and the address of Dr. Schafer on the same occasion, the latter having the title the Tremendous Dutchman. *A List of Active Members* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the *Proceedings* of the society at its seventy-sixth annual meeting, October 18, 1928, have been issued separately.

Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin contributes to the October number of the *History Quarterly of the Filson Club,* with introduction and notes, the two narratives of Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas, concerning Early Boonesborough and Harrodsburg, reposing in the Draper Collection; Dr. Willard Rouse Jillson, an epitome of the records of the Founding of Lexington, Kentucky; and Otto H. Rothert, an account of the Filson Club's new home at 118 West Breckinridge Street, Louisville.

The University of Minnesota Press has brought out *America in the Forties: Letters of Ole Munch Raeder,* translated and edited for the Norwegian-American Historical Association by Gunnar J. Malmin. Ole Munch Raeder was a distinguished Norwegian jurist who was sent to this country by his government in 1847 to study American legal institutions, and while traveling widely recorded his observations on many phases of American life in letters to a Christiania newspaper. The same press announces for publication in 1930 *The Background of Swedish Emigration to the United States,* by John Lindberg.

The partial success of Catholic leaders like Bishop Ireland, of St. Paul, in persuading Irish immigrants to settle upon land rather than remain in the crowded cities of the Atlantic seaboard is the theme of the first of two articles on Irish Immigration to Minnesota published in the

October number of *Mid-America*. The first organizations to promote the plan were the Minnesota Irish Emigration Society founded on May 12, 1864, and the Catholic Colonization Bureau founded twelve years later. The Irish in Minnesota were, however, unable to compete in numbers with either the Germans or the Swedes and Norwegians. This article carries the story to 1890. The same number of the review includes some letters of Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque, one of the Catholic pioneers of the region.

In an article entitled When America was the Land of Canaan, in the September number of *Minnesota History,* George M. Stephenson discourses upon the causes of emigration to America, describing in particular the influences which wrought upon the Swedish people and the reactions of the immigrants to their American surroundings. A Norwegian-American Landnamsman: Ole S. Gjerset, reprinted from *Studies and Records,* vol. III., of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, is an account, by Knut Gjerset, of the career of a Norwegian settler. In the section entitled Minnesota as seen by Travelers is the second installment (translation) of Robert Watt's narrative *Fra det Fierne Vesten* (Copenhagen, 1872).

In the July number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* Harold E. Briggs writes a history of Early Freight and Stage Lines in Dakota, and Merrill G. Burlingame tells the extraordinary story of the part which the buffalo has played in trade and commerce.

The Iowa department of the American Legion was well advised in entrusting to the State Historical Society the preparation of an account of its work in that state. The author is J. A. Swisher, research associate of the society, and the title is *The American Legion in Iowa, 1919–1929* (Iowa City, the State Historical Society, pp. xi, 303). The result is a dignified presentation, well documented. The treatment is somewhat broader than the title suggests, as appears from chapters on the national conventions of the Legion and on the campaigns for "adjusted compensation". With some curiosity the reader turns to the efforts of the Legion to influence the trend of education described in the chapter on "Planning for the Public Schools". One of the by-products of propaganda during the war was the temptation of the ex-soldier to feel convinced that as he saved the liberties of the world in 1918 he was entitled to direct the destinies of mankind thereafter. The author in this volume shows that on the whole the Legion has avoided the pitfalls that lay in its path and that its influence upon public life in Iowa has been healthful.

Two articles principally occupy the pages of the October number of the *Annals of Iowa,* namely, the Arbor Day, Park, and Conservation Movements in Iowa, by L. H. Pammel, and Joseph M. Street's Last Fight with the Fur Traders, by Ida M. Street, a granddaughter. Joseph M. Street was Indian agent in Wisconsin from 1827 to 1840, and this paper is a rather intimate account of his career in that capacity, and emphasizes the long conflict between the purposes of the fur-trading interests to exploit the Indian and the agent's desire to protect and educate him.

The Catholic Sponsors of Iowa, by M. M. Hoffman, a small pamphlet issued by the Iowa Catholic Historical Society as no. 1 of its *Collections,* recounts the lives of General George Wallace Jones and General Caesar Augustus Dodge, first senators from Iowa.

In the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Fred W. Lorch describes at some length the Lecture Trips and Visits of Mark Twain in Iowa, and Roy W. Swanson contributes, under the title Iowa of the Early Seventies as seen by a Swedish Traveler, selections (in translation) from the work of the Swedish traveler, Hugo Nisbeth, *Två År i Amerika (1872–1874): Reseskildringar* (Stockholm, 1874).

The September number of the *Palimpsest* contains a sketch, by J. A. Swisher, of John F. Dillon (1831–1914), distinguished jurist. The October number is entirely devoted to an account, by Fred W. Lorch, of the career of Orion Clemens, brother of "Mark Twain". In the November number Hubert H. Hoeltje describes the coming of the railroad to Muscatine, Iowa (1855), and William J. Petersen gives a history of the steamboats named for the city of Dubuque.

The Missouri Historical Society reports the following additions to its manuscript collections: Samuel Clemens Papers (1881–1908), placed on loan by Cyril Clemens; Sweringen Papers (1833–1867); and Ridgley-Stone Papers (1839–1892).

The September number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* has a study, by Joseph B. Thoburn, of the Prehistoric Cultures of Oklahoma, the initial installment of a history of the First Two Years of Oklahoma, by Dan W. Peery, and an account of the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut, by Carolyn T. Foreman.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for October, besides the article by Professor Charles W. Ramsdell on the Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion, also printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* contains an account, by Alma D. King, of the Political Career of Williamson Simpson Oldham (1813–1868), lawyer, judge, speaker of the Texas House of Representatives, and member of the Confederate Congress. A third is a Survey of German Literature in Texas, by Selma M. Raunick.

Among the articles in the September number of the *Colorado Magazine* are: Trinidad and its Environs, by A. W. McHendrie, and the Explorations of Gunnison and Beckwith in Colorado and Utah, 1853, by Leland H. Creer. In the November number are: Early Pueblo and the Men who made it, by Judge Wilbur F. Stone, the Battle of Summit Springs (July 11, 1869), by Clarence Reckmeyer, and Old Fort Lupton and its Founder, by LeRoy R. Hafen.

The October number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains part I. of a Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, by the late Adolph F. Bandelier; a History of Early Printing in New Mexico, with a bibliography of the known issues of the New Mexico press, 1834-1860, by Douglas C. McMurtrie; an article on the New Mexico Land Grant, by W. A. Keleher; and one entitled the Riddle of the Adobe, by Cecil V. Romero. Mr. Romero argues in this article that the ultimate failure of Spain to hold the Southwest is not, as generally contended, to be ascribed to the racial and governmental defects of the Spanish as compared with the stocks that displaced them, but that the most important single influence in the westward expansion of the United States was slavery.

Among the contents of the September number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* are: an account, by F. W. Howay and T. C. Elliott, of the Voyages of the *Jenny* to Oregon, 1792–1794; a paper by Leslie M. Scott on Oregon's Provisional Government; one by Russell B. Thomas entitled Truth and Fiction of the Champoeg Meeting; and the hitherto unprinted portion of Jonathan S. Green's Missionary Report on Oregon, contributed by George Verne Blue.

The October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is entirely given over to a general (second decennial) index to the *Quarterly*, covering articles, documents, and principal book reviews in volumes XI. to XX., inclusive, and to tables of contents of the whole twenty volumes.

Two studies by Dr. Paul S. Taylor of Mexican labor in the United States, one pertaining to the Imperial Valley, the other to the Valley of the South Platte, Colorado, have hitherto been mentioned in the pages of this journal (XXXIV. 942, XXXV. 238). The third of Dr. Taylor's studies, which are prosecuted under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, is *Mexican Labor in the United States: Migration Statistics* (University of California *Publications in Economics*, vol. VI., no. 3).

The discovery of the Hawaiian Islands, celebrated there in August, 1928, is further commemorated by the publication of a fully illustrated record of the ceremonies, with the text of the addresses and many pertinent documents, under the title of *Sesquicentennial Celebration of Captain Cook's Discovery of Hawaii (1778–1928)*, edited by Albert Pierce Taylor, Librarian of the Archives of Hawaii, printed by the Sesquicentennial Commission and the Archives of Hawaii Commission (1929). It includes much material on Captain Cook; the account, for example, of Cook's arrival by S. M. Kamakau, a Hawaiian historian, printed in *Kuokoa*, a native weekly paper, in 1867. The account of the discovery in Cook's log is also given. In the *Report* of the Board of Commissioners, Archives of Hawaii, for the two years ending on June 30, 1928, is found evidence of successful effort in indexing archival material already on hand.

CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for September prints the third annual list of graduate theses in Canadian history and economics, compiled by the associate editor, Professor G. W. Brown. In the same number is an article which will surprise many on this side of the international line who do not follow the development of Canadian democracy. The subject is the "Fate of Titles in Canada", and the author, D. W. Thomson, explains the origin of the petition of the Canadian House of Commons in 1919, asking the King to refrain from conferring of "titles of honour or titular distinction" upon persons domiciled in Canada. An attempt was made in 1928 and 1929 to rescind the petition, if not to recommend the resumption of the practice of conferring titles, but this attempt was defeated on February 14, 1929 (by a vote of 114 to 60).

The work done by missionaries in the transit of civilization to regions occupied only by Indians and scattered white settlers in Upper Canada is described by James J. Talman in *Church of England Missionary Effort in Upper Canada, 1815–1840,* reprinted from the Ontario Historical Society's *Papers and Records,* vol. XXV.

MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA

General review: Georges Pillement, *La Vie en Amérique Latine* (Revue de l'Amérique Latine, November).

In the *Hispanic American Historical Review* for November Rufus Kay Wyllys tells the story of the East Florida Revolution of 1812–1814, and the interest centers upon the scheme of American intervention which seemed to offer possibilities of eventual annexation. The incident reflected no glory upon Madison's administration, and looks at least to one reader like a clumsy rehearsal of the drama of Panama. Two other articles deal with Spanish colonial government: the first on the Corregidor in Spanish Colonial Administration, by C. E. Castañeda, the second on a great viceroy, Teodoro de Croix, by Lillian Estelle Fisher. Professor Fisher regards him as one of the outstanding colonial officials of the eighteenth century. In another article Paul D. Dickens deals with the Falkland Islands Dispute between the United States and Argentina. The Bibliographical Section prints the address delivered by Charles Sumner Lobingier before the American Foreign Law Association last March on Las Siete Partidas in full English Dress.

The University of California *Publications in History,* vol. XVIII., is *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: a Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century* (pp. 287), by Irvin A. Leonard, Ph.D. Sigüenza is described as "a poet, a philosopher, a mathematician, an astronomer, an antiquarian, and an historian". "The diversity of his interests", says Dr. Leonard, "the high degree of attainment reached in all of them, and his prolific literary activity mark him as one of the greatest scholars of the seventeenth century in the Western Hemisphere—including the English Colonies—and a figure whom no true historian of the early cultural history of the New World can properly neglect." There is an appendix containing a catalogue of his writings, and another embodying a translation of a letter (68 pages in extent) from Sigüenza to Admiral Pez recounting the incidents of the corn riot in Mexico City, June 8, 1692.

No. 29 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomatico Mexicano* is a translation of that portion of the *Diplomatic Memoirs* of John W. Foster which deals with Mexico.

No. 30 of the same series is entitled *Comentarios de Francisco Zarco sobre la Intervención Francesa (1861–1863)*. A prologue by Antonio de la Peña y Reyes outlines the life of the well-known orator, journalist, and politician who wrote this commentary on the early phase of French intervention in Mexico.

Nos. 33 and 34 of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* of Venezuela publish installments of indexes in those archives concerning encomiendas in Venezuela, a partial list of leaders of the South American revolution, extracts from the royal instructions providing for the establishment of an intendancy in Venezuela, an installment of the chronological index of documents regarding the administration of Spanish Guiana, an installment of the chronological index of the papers of Dr. Julian Viso, and installments of the records of military service in Venezuela near the end of the Spanish régime.

The Tacna-Arica number of the *West Coast Leader* (Lima, Peru) contains articles concerning the Tacna-Arica Controversy and documents dealing with its recent settlement.

No. XLVI. of the publications of the *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* of the University of Buenos Aires entitled *Noticias Históricas sobre la Recopilación de Indias* by José Torre Revello describes the historical antecedents of the famous " Laws of the Indies ". In the appendix documents are published from the Archivo General de Indias that concern the preparation of that famous code. No. XLVII. of these publications bears the title *Documentos Referentes á la Historia Argentina en la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid.*

A series of articles published in South American journals between 1914 and 1916 by Señor Parra-Perez, Venezuelan minister to Italy, has been published by the Venezuelan government under the title *Bolívar: Contribución al Estudio de sus Ideas Políticas* (Paris, Excelsior, 1928); Bolivar did not desire the crown and accepted the dictatorship as a duty, though he later enjoyed its exercise; he was an opportunist rather than a doctrinaire.

Among the essays included in the volume entitled *In Memoriam Karl Weule* (late professor of ethnology at Leipzig), *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte,* edited by Professor Otto Reche of Vienna, is one with the title Bemerkungen zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Brasiliens, by Dr. Georg Friederici.

Professor Mary Wilhelmine Williams, of Goucher College, will shortly publish a history entitled *The People and Politics of Latin America* (Boston, Ginn). The book is intended to interest the general reader as well as to serve as a basis for college and university courses in Latin-American history.

The *Life of Miranda,* in two volumes, by Professor William Spence Robertson, of the University of Illinois, has just been published by the University of North Carolina Press. It contains a bibliography and thirty-eight illustrations, and is largely based on the inedited manuscripts of Miranda discovered in 1922 in the estate office of Lord Bathurst at Cirencester.

The American Geographical Society announces the publication of a volume by Mark Jefferson entitled *Peopling the Argentine Pampa.*

W. S. R.

NOTEWORTHY REVIEWS

French Diplomatic Documents on the Origins of the War, 3d series, vol. I.: by Bernadotte E. Schmitt (Journal of Modern History, Dec.); by G. Pagès (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, May); by Graf Max Montgelas (Kriegsschuldfrage, Oct.); and by Élie Halévy (Revue de Paris, Sept.); *Cambridge History of the British Empire,* vol. I., by Samuel Eliot Morison (New England Quarterly, Oct.); Brand Whitlock, *La Fayette,* by Bernard Faÿ (Saturday Review of Literature, Oct. 19); Lord Newton, *Lord Lansdowne* (London Times, Literary Supplement, Oct. 31).

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